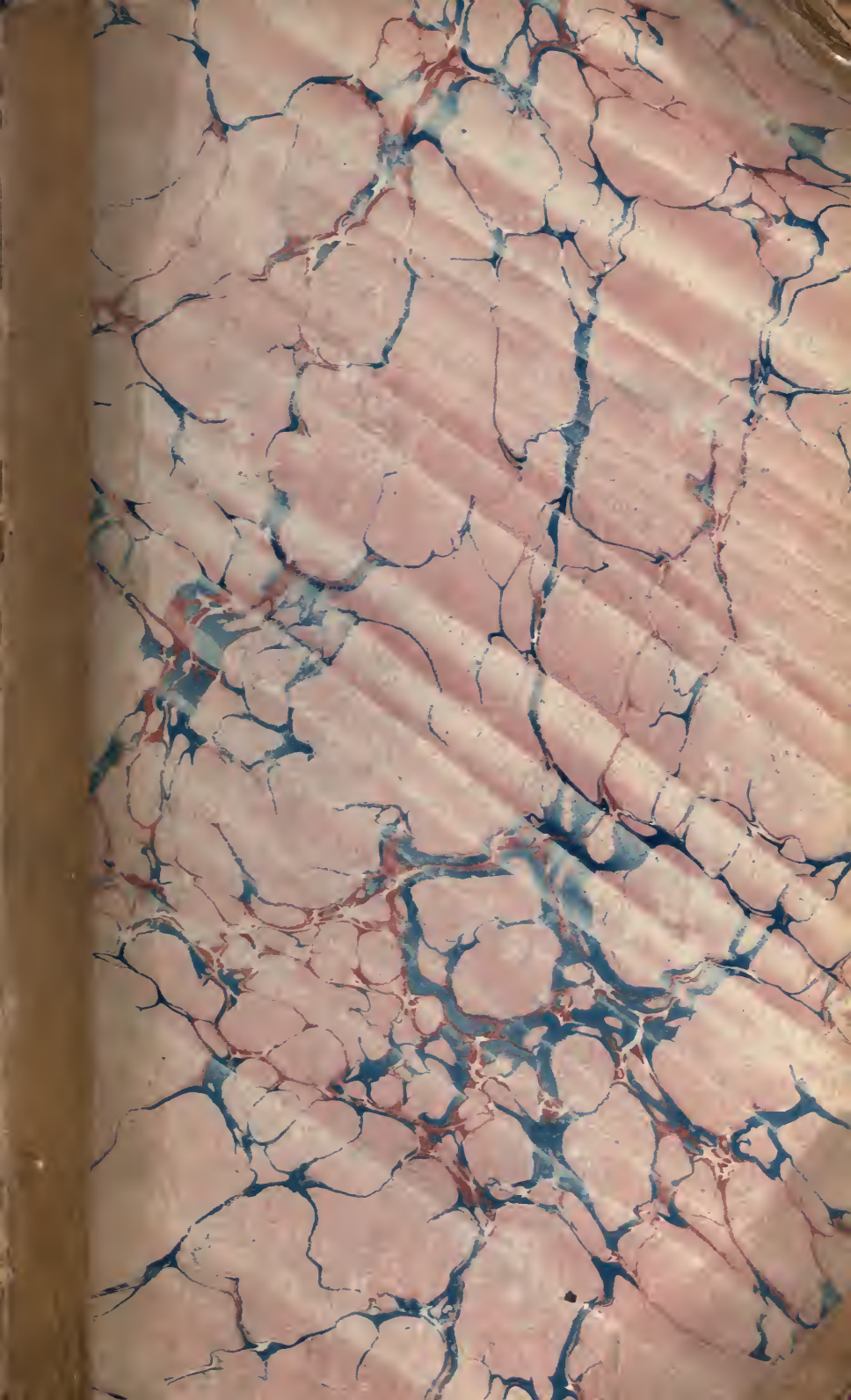






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THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

V O L. XVI.



L O N D O N,

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OF THE

SIXTEENTH VOLUME.

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THE
MODERN PART
OF
Universal History.

CHAP. LXV.

The History of Spain.

SECT. I.

The History of the Kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain, from the Accession of Euric, or Evaric, to that of Recared the First, who is also styled the Catholic.

THE Visigoths, headed by their king Theodoric, triumphed over the Suevi in Spain, and became masters of that extensive country under his successor Euric, who is on that account commonly considered as the founder of the Gothic kingdom. With his reign, therefore, the modern history of that nation properly commences; but to render it the more intelligible to the reader, it will be requisite to say something of the state in which things were in that as well as the adjacent countries. The eastern coasts of Spain were at that time in the hands of the Romans, though their power was in a manner ruined, the western empire having no head. In the East, Leo the First held the sceptre, and not long after named an emperor of the West. As for the western coasts of Spain, they were almost wholly

The situation of Spain at the time Euric ascended the throne.

A. D. 466.

in the hands of the Suevi; and their king *Refimund*, having married the daughter of *Theodoric*, remained in quiet possession of those territories: but the interior provinces, together with those of Gaul bordering upon Spain, were in the hands of the Goths, who fixed the seat of their kingdom at *Thoulouse*^a. As for the Vandals, who had transported themselves to Africa, and were masters of all the coasts opposite to Spain, they had for their monarch *Genferic*, who had been very successful against the Romans, and was now considered both as a lawful and a very potent prince^b. In point of religion, all these nations were Christians; but the Visigoths, Suevi, and Vandals were Arians, and are charged with dealing very harshly by the Catholics, that is, with the inhabitants of those provinces of Gaul and Spain which they had torn from the Roman empire^c (A).

Euric, *Euvoric*, *Euvaric*, *Euthoric*, or *Evarix*, for by all these names we find him mentioned, was a younger

^a Sidon. Appollon, Idat.

^b Jornand. cap. xlvii. S. Isid.

^c Ennod. Vir. S. Epiphani. Mariana; Hist. de Hisp. lib. v. cap. 5.

(A) Amongst the original authors, on whose authority the principal facts are taken, some were very eminent for their abilities, learning, and veracity. *Idacio*, bishop of *Lamego*, wrote a chronicle, grounded upon that of *Eusebius*, and continued down to his own times, in which he is allowed by the best judges to have set things down with great exactness. *St. Gregory* of *Tours* wrote the history of the Franks in ten books, and delivered therein a multitude of particulars relating to the monarchy of the Goths in Spain. To these we may add *St. Isidore*, metropolitan of *Seville*, who left not only a chronicle, which we shall have occasion to cite, but also a history of the Goths, the Suevi, and the Vandals, extremely useful in this history. We have add-

ed, more especially at the beginning of every reign, the authorities of such general histories of Spain as are in the highest esteem, such as those of the Jesuit *Mariana*, who wrote concisely, but very elegantly, of the affairs of his country in Latin, and more largely in his own language, and with great spirit and freedom. *Mayerne de Turquet* has written in French a general history of Spain, collected from *Mariana* and other authors. The history of Spain by *Don Juan de Ferreras* is allowed to be the most copious and exact of any now extant. This author lived in our own times, was indefatigable in the study of the antiquities of his own country, extremely accurate in chronology, and very impartial in his narratives.

son of Theodoric the First, king of the Visigoths in Gaul, and ascended the throne of his father by the murder of Theodoric II. his brother, who had before fixed himself thereon by the murder of their elder brother Thorismund^d. It does not appear that Euric met with any difficulty in obtaining the possession of any part of those extensive dominions which Theodoric acquired; neither does it appear that Resimund, king of the Suevi, made the least attempt to revenge the death of his father-in-law, or disputed the succession. On the contrary, mutual civilities and reciprocal embassies passed between them^e. Leo, emperor of the East, thought fit to associate Anthemius in that dignity. Soon after both emperors began to make great warlike preparations, both by land and sea, with an intent, as it afterwards appeared, to attack Genseric king of the Vandals, who having entered into a close alliance with Resimund and Euric, these two princes, as well to favour their own views as to create a diversion, resolved to attack the countries in Spain which were still in the hands of the Romans. This plan they executed with such success, that the former made himself master of Lisbon, and the latter subdued considerable tracts of country^f which hitherto had constituted part of the Roman province. Euric entered afterwards into a nego-

A. D. 467.

ciation with Anthemius, probably that he might obtain better information as to the state of affairs in the empire, and take his measures more effectually for driving the Romans entirely out of Spain, where his power was already so great, that instead of being jealous of the Suevi, he looked upon them rather as his dependents, and being a prince of great address managed them at his pleasure^g (B).

He reduces great part of Spain.

^d Idat. Jornand. cap. xlv. Isidor.

^e Idat.

^f Isidor.

Idat.

^g Ennod. Vit. S. Epiphan.

(B) In the course of the ensuing history we follow, generally speaking, the chronology established by Ferraras, not only because he has been remarkably careful in that re-

spect beyond most other historians, but also because he had far better lights, and has shewn very great judgment in making the best use of them.

without delayⁱ. His forces, having passed the Pyrenees, presented themselves before Pampeluna, which speedily submitted. From thence they proceeded to Saragossa, which made no great resistance, any more than several other places in its neighbourhood. The nobility and gentry, assembling in arms, endeavoured to stop the progress of the Goths, but, being easily defeated, what is now styled the principality of Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia, were quickly subdued^k. At this time Euric passed into Spain, and putting himself at the head of his armies, penetrated as far as Lusitania^l; which expedition giving him an opportunity of entering the Roman province on all sides at once, he became in a very short space entirely master of all that they possessed. Having settled garrisons in such places as he thought most convenient, and provided in the best manner he could for the administration of the civil government, he returned again into Gaul, without giving any disturbance to the Suevi, who by this time saw their error, and that, by assisting to ruin the Romans, though they had extended their territory, they had notwithstanding diminished their power^m.

The confusions in the western empire, where Olybrius had defeated and put to death Anthemius, encouraged Euric in his views of enlarging his dominions by attacking the Romans in Gaul. While he meditated this expedition, Olybrius dying, Glycerius assumed the purple. That he might be in a better condition to oppose the Visigoths, he took a great body of Ostrogoths, under the command of Widimer, into his service, and sent them into Gaul for the defence of the provinces. The subjects of the empire being catholics, behaved so indifferently towards these strangers, who were Arians, that they quickly deserted the service, and went over to Euric, who was of their own communionⁿ. Siagrius, at the head of the Roman forces, and Childeric, king of the Franks, had assembled a numerous army, in order to oppose Euric; but were defeated in a general engagement; soon after which Euric made himself master of Tours^o. His victorious army being strongly reinforced by the troops under Widimer, the monarch of the Visigoths, he turned his arms

A. D. 471.

A. D. 473.

ⁱ Isidor. Hist. Goth. xliv.
^m Idat. Isid. Turon. lib. ii.

^k Id. Chron.
ⁿ Jorn. cap. xlv. xlvii.

^l Jornand. cap.
^o Greg.

against Bourges, which he likewise reduced, after having defeated an army raised for its relief. He was prevailed upon by St. Epiphanius, bishop of Paria, to make peace with the emperor Julius Nepos. This, however, he soon after broke, and besieged Clermont in Auvergne, which, not without some difficulty, he reduced. After this conquest he gave some time to repose, and keeping his court at Bourdeaux, received, in a royal manner, the ambassadors of all the neighbouring princes^p. A. D. 475.

The western empire being entirely overthrown, on the deposition and death of Augustulus, by Odoacer, king of the Heruli, who thereupon assumed the title of monarch of Italy, that prince thought he could not take a more prudent step, in order to establish his new-founded state, than to make an alliance with Euric, king of the Visigoths, to whom, at the same time that he proposed this alliance, he made an offer of all the places that were still in the hands of the Romans. Euric readily embraced these terms, and soon after took the field, in order to reduce the cities to which this treaty gave him some colour of title. He besieged, and, after some resistance, made himself master of Arles, and soon after Marseilles shared the same fate; yet he did not enjoy these conquests in peace^q. *His conquests in Gaul in the time of his death.*

The Burgundians, who had before seen the increase of his power with envy, grew jealous now he was become their neighbour; and, to stop the progress of his arms, made an irruption into his territories with a mighty army. Euric marched against them with his veteran troops; and the dispute being ended by a decisive battle, in which he gained a complete victory, he returned to Arles, where he spent the few remaining years of his life in peace. He turned his thoughts now to the cultivation of the milder arts; and as he knew that a government could never subsist long where the laws were uncertain, he caused a complete code of those made by his predecessor and himself to be collected and published^r (C). A. D. 477.

He A. D. 479.

was

^p Sidon. Apol. lib. viii. ep. ix.
^r Sidon. Apoll. lib. ii. Isidor.

^q Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. i.

(C) The person chiefly employed by our monarch in compiling this code was Leo, his prime minister; he was descended from Cornelius Fronto, preceptor to the emperor Mar-

cus Aurelius, and the most eloquent person of the time in which he lived. This descendant of his was also in all respects a man of singular abilities; he professed the Catho-

was a zealous Arian, and is said to have persecuted the Catholics in Gaul with great severity; but the accounts we have of this seem to be exaggerated, since it is allowed, that his subjects in Spain enjoyed, during his reign, a profound peace. He is on all hands allowed to have been a magnanimous and a magnificent prince, and to have ruled wisely the territories which he had valiantly acquired. He died in the month of September, in the year of our Lord 484, and in the nineteenth of his reign. He had by his queen Ragnachild a son, who succeeded him, and a daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Sigismer, a prince among the Franks

*Alaric II.
succeeds,
and go-
verns his
subjects
with great
mildness.*

Alaric the Second succeeded his father, and reigned quietly over all his dominions in Spain and in Gaul^a; but if there be any credit due to some writers, he sullied the very beginning of his reign with a very mean and unworthy action. Siagrius, a Roman general, who still held Soissons, and some other places, was attacked by Clovis, king of the Franks, and, in his distress, took refuge in the dominions of Alaric, who at first received and protected him, but afterwards delivered this unfortunate person to that vindictive monarch, who put him to death^c. Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, having, at the instance of the emperor Zeno, entered Italy, where he defeated and put to death Odoacer, king of the Heruli, remained quiet possessor of his dominions, and governed them with such wisdom, as induced Alaric to court his alliance. Accordingly he espoused Theudicota, who some say was the natural daughter of that monarch. This match was very acceptable to his subjects, as it seemed to preface a lasting peace, without prejudice to the interests of their nation^d. Two brothers, Gondeband and Gode-

A. D. 493.

^a Mariana, *Historia de Hispana*, lib. v. cap. 6. Mayerne Turquet, lib. v. Ferreras, *Histoire generale d'Espagne*, part. iii. sec. 5. ^c Greg. Turon. Aimon. ^d Jorn. Procop.

lic religion in the court of a monarch who was an Arian. He was a person of great learning, unblemished character, and, which is no less to our present purpose, was esteemed the best civilian of that age. In all probability it was from

him the advice came of collecting and publishing these laws by the authority of king Euric, whose preface stands before them, and it is said they were considered and confirmed by an assembly of seventy bishops (1).

(1) Ferreras, part. iii. sec. 5.

fill, at that time governed the Burgundians, the former making Lyons, the latter Geneva, the seat of his residence; and, engaging in a war with each other, drew Clovis, king of the Franks, into their quarrel, who took part with Godefill, as Alaric did with Gondeband, who, having slain his brother, and united his dominions to his own, soon after deserted the Visigoths, and reconciled himself to the Franks; a measure which produced a jealousy between Clovis and Alaric, who appear to have been both of them naturally haughty and suspicious. A. D. 500.

The Goths having now enjoyed many years of peace, law-suits and disputes about property became much more frequent than in former times; a consideration which induced Alaric to direct Anian, one of the most famous lawyers of that age, to make an abridgement of the Theodosian code for the benefit of his subjects, which was afterwards published by his authority^x. He likewise laboured to compose amicably the differences that had arisen with Clovis; and, for that purpose, there was an interview between the two princes, which, though it produced a good correspondence in appearance, was far from putting an end to their animosities, as to the cause of which historians differ; but it seems most probable, that Clovis, who had lately become a Christian, was excited to make war upon Alaric by the bishops and clergy in his dominions, who hated their sovereign for being an Arian, and this notwithstanding he had permitted them to hold a council very lately at Agde. Theodoric, king of Italy, offered his mediation, and threatened to act with all his forces against the aggressor; which declaration however did not hinder Clovis from making an irruption into the territories of the Visigoths, where the city of Tours was presently yielded to him by his partisans. Alaric marched against him with a numerous army, with which he acted for some time upon the defensive; but not being able to restrain the ardour of his forces, it came at length to a decisive battle, in which the Visigoths were totally routed, and Alaric killed, as the French historians say, by the hand of Clovis^y. This engagement happened within three leagues of Poitiers, A. D. 507, according to the best historians (D).

A. D. 505,
506.

*Clovis,
king of the
Franks de-
clares war
against
him.*

After

^w Greg. Turon. Ennod. Mezeray. ^x Morales, lib. ii.
cap. 41. ^y Greg. Turon. Jorn. Procop.

(D) It is somewhat strange, writing after the same author that Mariana and Ferreras, should differ in almost

- A. D. 507. *Gesalaic usurps the throne of the Visigoths in Gaul.* After this unfortunate battle, some of the most prudent captains in the army of the Visigoths retired into Spain with Amalaric, the only son of their deceased monarch, by his queen Theudicota; but the rest of the troops, judging a prince of five years old very unfit to restore the disturbed state of their affairs, readily consented that Gesalaic, who was the natural son of Alaric, should assume the royal dignity ^z. His first action was against the Burgundians, who, under the command of Gondebaud, marched to besiege Narbonne, an enterprize which Gesalaic would have hindered; but being defeated in a general action, he fled into Spain, where he raised new disturbances. In the mean time Theodoric sent Ibbas, one of his generals, with a great body of troops, to the assistance of the Visigoths, who having in some measure recovered their spirits, behaved with so much courage and resolution, as obliged both the Franks and Burgundians to abandon the best part of their conquests, for which they stood at least as much indebted to the disaffection of the clergy as to the success of their army ^z. Ibbas afterwards marched against Gesalaic, who had taken possession of Barcelona, recovered that city, and forced the usurper to transport himself and his few adherents into Africa, where they were received by Thrasamond, king of the Vandals, though he was brother-in-law to king Theodoric, who, in consideration of the trouble and expence he had been at, kept the country of Provence for himself, and administered the affairs of the rest of Alaric's dominions, as regent for Amalaric; appointed Theudis, an Ostrogoth by birth, but a person of great prudence and merit, to have the chief direction in the councils of the young prince.
- A. D. 513. *Amalaric being of age, assumes the government of his own dominions.* With the help of those pecuniary supplies which he received from the king of the Vandals, Gesalaic returned into Gaul. There having raised a considerable body of forces, he passed the mountains, directing his march towards Barcelona, within four leagues of which city he was encountered by a part of Theodoric's army, and, being entirely defeated, was forced to fly back into Gaul; but being overtaken before he could reach any place of safety,

^z Mariana, Historia de Hispana, lib. v. cap. 7. Mayerne Turquet, livre v. Ferreras, Histoire Generale d'Espagne, p. iii. sec. 6.
^a Cassiodor. Jorn. Isidor.

most every circumstance relating to this event, as well as the year in which it happened.

by

by a party of the Ostrogoths, they put an end to his troubles and his life: by this incident, and the death of Clovis, king of the Franks, the Visigoths were equally freed from the miseries of an intestine war, and the apprehensions of a foreign invasion. Theudis governed Spain with great ability, and yet not without giving some kind of umbrage to Theodoric; for though, pursuant to his orders, he sent him the revenues of that kingdom, yet he could not be prevailed upon to return into Italy, to render an account of his administration. He married also a Spanish lady of distinguished family, who brought him immense riches; so that when he furnished either his life or liberty to be in danger from the suspicions of Theodoric, he was in a condition to raise and maintain a body of two thousand men, in the nature of guards^t. The king of Italy, therefore, having no other method to recover that power which he had put into the hands of Theudis, declared his grandson Amalaric of full age, and ordered him to be put in possession of his father's dominions.

Theodoric was succeeded in his dominions by his other grandson Athalaric, the son of his daughter Amalasuntha, by Eutharic, a Goth, born in Spain, who deceased before his father-in-law^u. The new monarch of Italy was very young; and, to prevent any dispute with the king of the Visigoths, it was agreed, that the river Rhosne should be the common boundary of their territories; that no part of the revenue of Spain should be any longer remitted to Italy; and that the treasures which Theodoric had removed should be restored^w. His affairs being thus settled, Amalaric found himself inclined to marry; and the princess upon whom he cast his eyes was Clotilda, daughter of Clovis, and sister of those princes amongst whom the kingdom of the Franks was divided^x. They listened very readily to this proposition: the marriage being concluded, Clotilda was received with all possible demonstrations of joy by her subjects, and the wedding celebrated with the utmost solemnity. At this time, in the opinion of all parties, there could not have been a more judicious alliance, or one that afforded a fairer prospect, either in respect to public peace, or to private happiness; yet it was not long before those uneasinesses commenced, which, in their issue, proved so fatal both to the king and kingdom of the Visigoths^y.

A. D. 528.

*He marries
the princess
Clotilda.*

^t Procop. ^u Cassiodor. Jornand. ^w Procop. ^x Greg.
Tur. Procop. Aimon. ^y Procop. de Bel. Goth. lib. i.

Her brother invades the dominions of Amalaric.

Amalaric was either desirous himself, or influenced by his priests, to bring over his queen to the Arian heresy: as she was a zealous catholic, this was the source of those differences that broke out early, and continually increased between them, till at length the poor queen was so ill treated, that she wrote a long letter of complaint to her brethren, in which she gave a large account of her sufferings, and the daily insults she received, not only from that monarch, but from his subjects; and with it sent a handkerchief stained with her blood, occasioned by the blows she had received. In consequence of her complaints, Childebart, king of France, marched with a numerous army into the territories of Amalaric, who, collecting as great a force as he was able, took the field against the invader; but had the misfortune to be defeated, and was forced to take refuge on board his fleet; but, recollecting that his treasures were left in the city of Narbonne, he went on shore again, in hopes of recovering them; and had scarce entered the city before it was surprized by the enemy; on which, retiring for safety into a church belonging to the catholics, a common soldier run him through with his spear^a. Others say, that he retired to Barcelona, and was assassinated by his own subjects. It is more credible that he was killed in the month of December, 531^b. The victorious Childebart carried all his treasures and queen Clotilda back into his own dominions; and that princess dying on the road, her body was interred with that of her father, in the monastery of St. Genevieve, which at that time was consecrated to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. Amongst those treasures were sixty chalices, fifteen patins, and many other vessels, all of solid gold, which the victor distributed amongst the churches in his own kingdom.

Theudis ascends the throne of the Visigoths by election.

The royal family of the Goths being entirely extinct, their monarchy, which seems hitherto to have been in some measure hereditary, became afterwards elective. The first who mounted the throne, by the choice of the nobility, was Theudis, who had governed Spain with so much reputation during the minority of the deceased prince. He was scarce seated on the throne before he saw the neighbouring kingdoms of the Vandals in Africa subverted by the armies of the emperor Justinian, under the command of the famous Belisarius; and these events happened before he could determine with himself whether it

^a Greg. Turon. lib. i. cap. 10.

^b Hldefons.

would be consistent with his interest to interpose in the quarrel. It appears, however, that he did not neglect any opportunity of recovering the places that had been conquered by the Franks, and that he met with considerable success in these endeavours: but the princes of that nation, having at length put an end to the kingdom of Burgundy, resolved to employ all their forces in driving the Visigoths entirely out of Gaul; an aim which, however, they were not able to effect. Some years after, they revived the same project: Childebert, king of the isle of France, and Clotaire, whose residence was at Soissons, passed the mountains with a very numerous army, and, having reduced every thing in their passage, advanced with great rapidity to Saragossa. Theudis, who found it impossible to raise an army capable of withstanding them, very judiciously determined to make his utmost efforts against them upon their retreat, and gave his orders accordingly to Theodisele, whom he appointed his general^b. Childebert and Clotaire, after having made a composition with the inhabitants of Saragossa, returned with the spoils they had collected in the course of this expedition; but when they came to repass the Pyrenees, the general of the Goths harassed them continually, and would probably have destroyed their whole army, if Childebert had not engaged him, by a present of a great sum of money, to leave the passage free for twenty-four hours, an intermission which gave him and Clotaire an opportunity of saving themselves and the best part of their army^c. The French historians are silent on this head; but the facts seem both probable and certain.

This war thus ended, the king of the Visigoths was alarmed by the prospect of new dangers; for the imperial forces, not content with overturning the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa, turned their victorious arms against the city of Ceuta, which, though we have no account how it came into their hands, was at this time in the possession of the Goths, and reduced it before Theudis was in a condition to afford the garrison any relief. He had, however, assembled an army for this purpose; and, becoming better apprised of the importance of this place, from its loss, he caused his troops to be embarked as soon as possible, in hopes of recovering it before the Romans had time to repair and provide for its defence: but, though an Arian, it seems he was so strict in his observa-

Makes an expedition into Africa,

^b *Ibid.* Greg. Turon.

^c Vit. T. Avit.

tion of Sunday as a day of rest and devotion, that the enemy, taking advantage of his piety, made a general sally with such success, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and return with his fleet and army into Spain (E). He did not long survive this disgrace; for a person, who either was, or pretended to be mad, having formed a design against his person, without any provocation that history mentions, found means to enter, and stab him in his palace. He died in a few days after of this wound, with all the testimonies of pious resignation, and, by a very extraordinary strain of clemency, forbade the putting the assassin to death. This fatal accident happened in the year 548^d.

*Theodisele
succeeds
him.*

The throne of the Visigoths being again vacant, the nobility elected in the room of their deceased prince Theodisele, who is also called by some historians Theudisele, Theodigele, and Theodiges, who then commanded the troops. In all human probability, his true character was not then known, or so much as suspected; but, after his elevation, it was quickly discovered; for, being extremely given to women, he set no bounds to his lust, or to his cruelty, where it was necessary to the gratification of his lust^e. This in a short time made him universally odious: as he had already taken off several persons of distinction, some of those who were nearest his person began to be jealous of their own safety, and therefore resolved to pro-

^d Appendix ad Chronic. ^e Mariana, Historia de Hispana, lib. v. cap. 8. Ferreras, Historia de Hispana, p. iii. sec. 6. Mayerne Turquet. lib. v.

(E) All the modern Spanish historians concur in relating this expedition of king Theudis into Africa as we have represented it in the text; and all cite, in support of what they say, the authority of St. Isidore of Seville, which would admit of no dispute, if we were sure that he said what they make him say; but, notwithstanding the unanimity of the Spanish writers, a modern French historian is fully persuaded, that the Septam Oppidum, in

Isidore, does not refer to Ceuta in Africa, but to the little town of Sette, in Languedoc, which the Franks having taken from the Goths, king Theudis thought it a point of such importance, as to sail with a body of troops, embarked on board a fleet collected in haste, in order to recover it; and that in this expedition his forces received that signal blow which obliged him to return into Spain with much disgrace (1),

(1) P. Daniel, Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 148.

vide for it, by effecting the death of a tyrant, who, by violating all laws, had forfeited every title to fidelity, and even to compassion. They waited, therefore, only a favourable opportunity to remove him; and it was not long before they met with one, which, in effect, was of his own procuring. At an entertainment to which he had invited them, when the evening was far advanced, and most of the company warm with wine, the conspirators suddenly put out the lights, and, before Theodisele could recover himself from his surprize, buried a dagger in his bosom. This tragedy was acted in the year 549, so that he enjoyed, or rather abused, the regal dignity about a year and five months.

It was natural enough for those who had thus removed one king, to think they had a right, under the same plea of necessity, to make choice of another; and therefore, without waiting for the usual forms, they placed Agila on the throne. This step disgusted many of the nobility, who had no share in the election; and his irregular conduct soon increased the number of his enemies. The city of Cordova was the first that refused to acknowledge him for their sovereign; a refusal which provoked him to such a degree, that he marched thither with a numerous army, fully resolved to chastise the inhabitants in such a manner, as might deter others from following their example. The people of Cordova issuing out of the city, attacked him in the field, defeated his forces, killed one of his sons, and obliged him to retire with great precipitation. This success of their's excited revolts in several places; which Athanagilde, a noble, but very ambitious Goth, managed with such dexterity, that those who were in arms, and without a chief, invited him to put himself at their head, and proclaimed him king. He might very probably have attained his views without foreign assistance, but he was in haste to be a king; and, that he might be so the sooner, demanded assistance from the emperor Justinian, to whom this application was very welcome, more especially as he proposed at the same time to give a certain district on the coast of Spain, in return for these auxiliaries. The emperor, therefore, sent over a body of troops from Africa, under the command of Liberius, who was immediately put into possession of the maritime country, from the fortress of Gibraltar to the confines of the kingdom of Valencia^f.

Agilais advanced to the regal dignity.

^f *Ibid.* Hist. Goth.

*Destroyed
by a con-
spiracy.*

The Spanish inhabitants were very well pleased with this change of masters, for they had always a strong propensity to submit to the imperial authority, on the score of their religion; so that Liberius found it not at all necessary to weaken the body of troops he commanded, by separating them into garrisons^g. He made haste, therefore, to join Athanagilde; and they were about taking the field, when they were informed that Agila was marching directly towards them, with an intent to give them battle, or to besiege the city of Seville. They began immediately to move towards him; and it was not long before a decisive engagement ensued, in which, after an obstinate resistance, the army of Agila was defeated, and himself, with its broken remains, compelled to retire to Merida. He did all in his power to revive the spirit of his party, and to recruit his troops; but the nobility who were about him, considering the many miseries brought upon their country by this civil war, the danger they were in by admitting a foreign force, and disgusted with the insolent behaviour of one who had so indifferent a title, and who, notwithstanding, was continually threatening the utter extirpation of those in rebellion, resolved at last to take that step which appeared to them most for their interest: having secretly concerted their measures, they removed him much in the same way that those who proclaimed him king had removed his predecessor^h, in the year 554; and at the same time that his death was made known to the army, Athanagilde was proclaimed king with universal acclamationsⁱ. He was no sooner informed of this unexpected and surprising resolution, than he sent to give the army assurance of his kind acceptance of their good wishes, and soon after came and joined them with his forces. From this time he was, without any farther dispute, acknowledged the legal sovereign of the Goths, whose affairs were now in such a situation, that, if this civil war had not been thus determined, they might very probably have been reduced again under the power of the emperor, who, having recovered Africa and Italy, was very ambitious of retrieving Spain.

*Succeeded
by Athana-
gilde.*

*Athana-
gilde
makes war
on the Im-
perialists.*

Athanagilde, according to some historians, established the residence of the Gothic monarchs at Toledo, as being a city most happily situated for that purpose, being almost in the centre of their dominions. He was without doubt

^g Mariana.

^h Greg. Turon.

ⁱ Jorn. Isid. Hist. Goth.

a prince

a prince of a very gracious disposition, who chose to establish his authority rather on the affection than on the fears of his subjects. The Romans, or, as they are called by some modern writers, and not improperly, Imperialists, either believing they could never be paid for the service which they had rendered this king at the beginning of his reign, or prompted by the native Spaniards, who, on account of the difference of their religion, hated the yoke of the Goths, began to extend their power, and added several important places to those which had been yielded to them, whether by consent or force, does not appear. This conduct, however, provoked the Goths, who represented their fears in such strong terms to Athanagilde, that, finding nothing was to be done by persuasion, he had recourse at length to force, and quickly took from the Imperialists all their new conquests. By his conduct on this and other occasions, Athanagilde rendered himself universally beloved by his subjects, and generally respected by his neighbours^k.

This monarch of the Visigoths, by his queen Gofuintha, *His family.* had two daughters of admirable beauty, the fame of which extended to France, now governed by four young princes. Of these, Sigebert, king of Austrasia, the youngest but one, seeing with regret how much his brethren had dishonoured themselves by unequal marriages and their dissolute lives, resolved to demand in marriage Brunichilde, or Brunehaud, the youngest of Athanagilde's daughters; he accordingly sent Gogon, who was his prime minister, at the head of a splendid embassy, for that purpose^l. To him that princess was delivered, with a large sum of money, and conducted into France, where she quickly became a catholic; and, though some French historians represent her as a very bad woman, yet others, as well as Mariana, of the Spanish writers, give her a very high character. This marriage was so much applauded in France, that the year following, Chilperic, king of Soissons, the youngest of the four brethren, resolved to request of Athanagilde, his other daughter Galsuintha, though he had already two wives, Audovere, and the infamous Tredegonde. It was with great reluctance the king of the Goths yielded to his desire, and not till the kings his brethren guaranteed his promises, which however were very ill kept, since, at the instigation of Tredegonde, he caused the queen to be strangled; upon which his brethren in-

^k Greg. Turon.^l Ibid. Hist. Goth.

vaded his dominions, and he was at length obliged to yield to Brunihaud those places which had been given by way of dowry to her sister. Athanagilde, having reigned in peace with great reputation, thirteen years, died in the year 576; and before his death, as some writers say, was reconciled to the church^m.

*An inter-
regnum of
five months.*

After the death of this wife and great prince, there followed an interregnum of five months. The nobility pretend, that they were not able to fix upon a person who had the virtues requisite to support so high a dignity; but as Mariana well observes, it is much more probable that they had their private views and particular interests at heart, since ambition and jealousy have usually a much larger share than the love of peace, or regard to the public interest, in all disputes of this kind. But, from whatever cause these divisions might arise, they had a dismal effect on the affairs of the nation; for the Imperialists, taking advantage of this untoward situation of things, extended their conquests daily, at the same time that several great men began to oppress their vassals; so that, for want of a king, there started up many tyrants. This inconvenience however, produced one good effect; the people in general, more especially the inhabitants of great cities, began to express their distaste in very loud terms; so that the nobility found, that the best way to provide for their own safety, was to proceed, without farther delay, to the choice of a princeⁿ.

*Liuva
elected king,
and dies af-
ter a short
reign.*

Under these circumstances, the majority of the nobles cast their eyes upon Liuva, or, as historians commonly call him, Liuba, at that time governor of the Gothic provinces in Gaul, whom they elevated to the throne, though not with the universal consent of the nation. It is indeed agreed, that no prince ever deserved a crown better; for he was not only pious, prudent, and brave, but of so public a spirit, and preferred the welfare of his subjects so much to his private advantage, that, perceiving affairs would suffer if he removed out of Gaul, and that the Visigoths were in great danger of being driven out of Spain if they had not a chief of distinguished abilities at their head, he proposed to the nobility associating his brother in the regal dignity, as a measure which this conjuncture required. The state of things, the nature of the expedient, and the disposition of the people, who loudly applauded the king's generous disposition, obliged the nobility to yield to this motion. Liuba, therefore, having

made this provision for the security of that part of his dominions, continued to reside in Gaul, where he kept his subjects in full possession of peace and prosperity to the time of his decease, which happened in the year 572¹. We have chosen to represent the few events in this short reign all together, that they might appear with greater perspicuity to the reader, than they would have done if intermixed with that of his brother, who became the sole monarch of the Goths at his decease, and one of the most distinguished princes of that nation who had hitherto reigned in Spain^m.

Leovigilde, whom his brother had associated in the governmentⁿ, was a person of great power and distinction. Before that event happened, he had espoused Theodosia, the daughter of Severian, duke or governor of the province of Carthagera, whom the Spanish historians conceive to have been the son of Theudis, once king of the Vifigoths. By this lady, who was dead before his elevation to the throne, he had two sons, Hermenigilde and Rechared, and, in virtue of this alliance, had a great interest among the native Spaniards as well as the Goths. In order to extend this still farther, and to put an entire end to those disputes that still subsisted, he thought proper to espouse Gofuintha, the widow of the late king, a match that contributed not a little to augment his authority*. He then proceeded to assemble an army, with which he attacked the Imperialists, and laid siege to Medina Sidonia, which made an obstinate resistance. At length he found means to enter into intelligence with one of the inhabitants, by whose assistance his soldiers entered the place, and put all that were in it to the sword, that this severity might strike a terror into those who had revolted during the time of the late troubles. The city of Cordova next felt the weight of his arms. This he was the more desirous of reducing, as it was a place of great strength, and very important by its situation, but more especially as its inhabitants had shewn a very great zeal for their new masters. They made therefore a very vigorous and even obstinate defence, till the king found a weak place. This he prudently battered with that artillery of the first invention and greatest force, a large sum of ready gold, by

He associates his brother Leovigilde in the regal dignity.

¹ Mariana, Historia de Hispana, lib. v. cap. 11. Mayerne Turquet, lib. v. Ferreras, Historia de Hispana, lib. iii. sect. 6. ^{Id.} Hist. Goth. J. Biclär. ^m Greg. Tur. J. Biclär. ^a Adonis Chronic. ^o ^{Id.} Hist. Goth.

which he gained admittance. Being once master of Cordova, he reduced many other cities and fortresses, rather by the terror than the application of his arms. Thus while the prudence of Liuba kept all things quiet in the Gothic province in Gaul, the valour and vigilance of Leovigilde restored the reputation of the Goths in Spain.

*He pre-
wails on the
nobility to
raise his
sons to the
rank of
princes.*

When he became sole monarch of the Goths, and saw, that partly through hope, partly from fear, the nobility testified in general a very great affection for his person, and profound obedience to his commands, he resolved not to lose so favourable an opportunity, but, under various plausible and popular pretences, intimated the expediency of associating his two sons, as heirs expectant of the kingdom, and possessors likewise of such a share of authority as he thought proper to intrust them with; which proposition being received with applause by many, and opposed by none, Hermenigilde and Rechared were publicly proclaimed princes of the Goths^p. Thus the reader sees what an influence the personal virtues of a king will always have, even on an elective constitution. This great affair being finished, the king turned his arms against the inhabitants of Cantabria, then a very large province, comprehending not only what is now called Biscay, but all the neighbouring mountainous countries. Notwithstanding the hardness of the people, and the natural strength of the places which they inhabited, Leovigilde reduced them by degrees, chastised them severely for their revolt, and obliged them, though not without great difficulty, to submit to that form of government which he judged convenient to impose; which conquest added not a little to the reputation of his arms, and the security of his government^q.

Hermenigilde espouses the princess Ingende.

In the course of these wars, Mir, king of the Suevi, had afforded some assistance to his neighbours, who were in arms against the king of the Goths, a circumstance which was sufficient to provoke a prince of Leovigilde's disposition. He was on the point of turning the whole force of his dominions against the Suevi, when their king made such submissions by his ambassadors, as diverted the storm for that season. Leovigilde invaded next the inhabitants of the mountains of Orospe, which are thought to comprehend the Sierras of Cayo, of Molina, and Cuenca, lying in the very heart of his dominions. These, depending on their wild inhospitable country, thought to preserve their sa-

^p Ibid. J. Biclár.

^q Vit. S. Millan.

vage freedom from suffering any control through him, as they had done againſt his predecessors. But the king, who underſtood perfectly the art of war, and his troops that were continually uſed to conquer, ſoon taught them a new leſſon, obliged them to ſubmit to his mercy, and, upon a ſecond revolt, puniſhed them with extraordinary rigour. The peace of his dominions being thus eſtabliſhed, he, by the advice of his queen, reſolved to demand the princeſs Ingonde, her grand-daughter by Brunehaud, for his ſon Hermenigilde. This marriage being quickly concluded, to the ſatisfaction of both parties, he put the young prince and his conſort into poſſeſſion of part of his dominions, and ſent them to keep their court at Seville^r. The joy occaſioned by this match did not laſt long; for Hermenigilde, by the perſuaſion of his wife, became a Catholic, upon which a civil war enſued between his father and him, in which the young prince expected aſſiſtance from the Imperialiſts; but the old king prevented that by bribing their general^v; and in a ſhort time reduced his ſon to ſuch diſtreſs, that, at the perſuaſion of his brother Rechared, he ſubmitted, and, being deſpoiled of all enſigns of royalty, was ſent priſoner to Toledo, notwithstanding which he remained firm in his religion.

The diſpute between the father and the ſon had the moſt diſmal effects upon the Catholics; all of whom were conſidered by Leovigilde as rebels from principle; and therefore he treated many of the Catholic biſhops and clergy with that rigour which was natural to him, and which, by degrees, increaſed into a general perſecution; the rather becauſe of their intrigues with the Suevi, and with the kings of the Franks, from whom, as they were of the ſame religion, it was natural for the Catholics in Spain to expect aſſiſtance and encouragement^t. Queen Brunehaud interpoſed her good offices in favour of the prince, and of her daughter, but to no purpoſe; for her mother Goſuintha, who was a bigotted Arian, prevented any good effects that might otherwiſe have attended her ſolicitation^u. Theſe religious diſputes, amongſt other miſchievous conſequences, are ſuppoſed to have been the principal cauſe of the general revolt of the Vaſcons, who inhabited the countries of Guipuscoa, Navarre, and Jacca; whom, notwithstanding, king Leovigilde quickly reduced by force of arms; and, as well to preſerve the me-

Troubles in different parts of Spain.

^r Greg. Tur.
^u Greg. Turon,

^v J. Biclár.

^t Iſidor. de Script.

mory of his success, as to provide the more effectually against any future revolts, he built, in the district of Alava, a new city and fortress, to which he gave the name of Victoria *. But so short-sighted are the views of all human politics, that this had an effect of which the king never entertained the least suspicion; for though it preserved the country, it lost him the people. The Vascons saw it was impossible for them to resist the monarch of the Goths, whose forces, by a continual course of action, were become invincible; therefore, quitting their native seats, they passed the mountains in great multitudes, and, in spite of all the resistance that could be made, possessed themselves of part of Aquitaine, which from them received the name of Vasconia, or, according to the French pronunciation, Gascony †.

*The war
between
Leovigilde
and Hermen-
nigilde.*

While the king was thus occupied in the northern part of his dominions, his son Hermenigilde, having made his escape from the place of his exile or imprisonment, began to take the best measures he could for his own security. But it was not long before Leovigilde marched against him with a numerous army, took Merida in his passage, and advanced directly towards Seville. As in the former war he was deceived in his expectation of assistance from the Imperialists, so in this he was undone by his dependence upon the Suevi, though with this difference indeed, that Mir, king of that nation, raised all the forces that he was able to assemble, and marched with them to join prince Hermenigilde; but the old king, having exact intelligence of all his motions, brought him into great distress, by intercepting his communication with his own country, at the same time that the bulk of the Gothic army lay between him and prince Hermenigilde, who was at a great distance; so that at length he was constrained to abandon his alliance, and, as some Spanish historians say, obliged to send a part of his troops, which served as auxiliaries at the siege of Seville. That inflexible temper, for which the king was so remarkable, displayed itself to an extraordinary degree in the course of this siege; for a number of persons being turned out of the place, to prevent a famine, he caused them to be put to death without mercy. In a short time the city was in all respects so distressed, that prince Hermenigilde was, with great difficulty, able to make his escape to Cordova; soon after which retreat the place surrendered, and the king march-

* J. Biclár.

† Idem ibid.

ed to besiege his son in Cordova. This he quickly reduced: Hermenigilde, being made prisoner, was sent loaded with chains to Seville, and not long after removed from thence privately to Tarragona; but that prince having sent an ambassador to Constantinople, to solicit the assistance of the Greek emperor; and orders being sent from thence to the general of the Imperialists in Spain, to attack the Goths; and that general marching directly towards the place of the prince's confinement, his father caused him to be removed again privately to Seville, and shut up in a tower ^γ. He had not continued long there, before an Arian bishop was sent to persuade him to change his religion; a proposal which he rejected with scorn; nor would he communicate with that prelate at the feast of Easter. As soon as the king was informed of his inflexibility, he caused him secretly to be put to death in the night of the 13th of April, in the year 584 ², which day, therefore, is dedicated to his memory, as a saint and martyr, by the church of Rome. As for the princess Ingonde, he had by her only one son, named after her grandfather Athanagilde, who was sent to Constantinople after his father's death.

After the death of his son, Leovigilde prosecuted the war against the Imperialists but faintly; yet guarded his own frontiers so well, that they were able to make no impression. In the mean time, however, he augmented his forces, and filled his magazines; from whence it was evident that he had some military expedition in view; and the Imperialists, sensible of their inferiority, apprehending his intention was to drive them entirely out of Spain, sued to him for peace; which was readily granted ³. He then turned his arms against the Suevi, who were at that time under the power of an usurper, named Andaca, who having deposed Eboric, the son of Mir, their lawful sovereign, had obliged him to shave his head, in order to keep it upon his shoulders; that is, to render himself incapable of the regal dignity, by becoming a priest; a step which had created such jealousies and animosities in the minds of the people, that Leovigilde met with but a very feeble resistance in his passage to Brague, where the usurper kept his court. The city being invested, was quickly surrendered; and Andaca falling into his hands alive, he banished him to Badajoz, where, as he had served his mas-

*A war
breaks out
with the
Suevi.*

^γ Isidor. de Script. & Historia Goth. S. Gregor. J. Biclár.
² S. Gregor. Dialog. lib. iii. ³ Isidor. J. Biclár.

ter, he was, by the command of Leovigilde, shaved a priest ^b. Thus the dominions of the Suevi were added to those of the Goths, and the two nations had thenceforward the same sovereign. The Franks, who had afforded Hermenigilde little or no succours while he was living, invaded his father's dominions in Gaul, under pretence of revenging his death; upon which Leovigilde, who was grown old and infirm, sent his son Rechared to repel this irruption; believing his own presence necessary to prevent any stir in Spain, where, by persecuting the Catholics, he had excited a spirit of disaffection among his subjects ^c. The young prince discharged his office so well, that the Franks were every where repulsed; but his marriage with Rigorite, the daughter of king Chilperic, upon which his father depended chiefly for restoring peace before he died, proved abortive, in consequence of her father's death. Gontrand, king of Orleans and Burgundy, continued to arm against the Goths, notwithstanding the little success he had met with in his former expedition; and Rechared was again sent by his father into Gaul, to resist these invaders. There having defeated their forces, and settled the peace of the province, he returned into Spain, and married, by the advice of the old king, Bada, the daughter of a rich and powerful Goth, a match which was universally acceptable to the nation. Towards the close of the year, Leovigilde, worn out with age and infirmities, breathed his last at Toledo. Some historians say, he quitted his errors a little before his end, and was reconciled to the Catholic faith by St. Leander, metropolitan of Seville, who had been highly instrumental in the conversion of his son Hermenigilde; but this conversion is doubtful, as is also the exact time of his death. The best historians, however, place it in the year 585, when he had reigned eighteen years ^d.

The great actions performed by this monarch, and the consequences of them in respect to this nation, are of so extraordinary a nature, as oblige us to enter more particularly into his character. Leovigilde, like most other heroes, was equally distinguished by good and bad qualities; if he was ambitious in a high degree, if he was avaricious in a greater, if he was severe and inflexible beyond measure, he was at the same time extremely brave in his person, a great oeconomist, a lover of justice, and

^b Adonis Chr.

^c Greg. Turon.

^d S. Greg. Dia-

log. lib. iii. J. Biclár. Greg. Turon.

desirous that all, who kept within the measure of their obedience, should enjoy his protection in its full extent^e. He is not much obliged to the historians who lived in or near his time; and yet they furnish us with facts that sufficiently prove all we have advanced. He found the government in great confusion; he reduced it into perfect order. The laws which, from the time of Alaric, had been very much neglected, he revised, repealed such as were useless, and added others agreeable to the circumstances of the times. He settled a royal treasury, which had been wanting to his predecessors, and brought the finances under some regulation^f. He was the first of the Gothic kings that distinguished himself by robes, and other regalia; and it is observed, that he behaved himself on all occasions with such fortitude, prudence, and majesty, that he was much more respected, and better obeyed, than any of the princes he succeeded. All ranks and degrees of people submitted to his rule without murmuring, in some measure through fear, but chiefly from a conviction of the great advantages that arose from his wise and uniform administration, which, while it kept the nobility in awe, secured the commons from oppression^g.

He was endowed with talents exactly suited to the conjuncture in which he lived; so that his virtues, and even his vices, concurred to the establishment of his government. He comprehended clearly the defects in the Gothic policy; he applied the proper remedies, and he applied them in due order. He began with restoring military discipline, and when he had restored it, he kept his troops always in action. His predecessors, either through want of inclination, or leisure, had suffered the inhabitants of Cantabria, and other mountainous countries, to live after their own manner, without paying the same respect to the laws and regal authority which was yielded by the rest of their subjects; this license he corrected, and took away numberless evils that flowed from it. He took care to make all places accessible, and to exact obedience alike from all his people^h. He knew how to cajole, to corrupt, and to divide his enemies, and, by these arts, he gradually prepared them for subjection. He attacked them always separately, and, whilst his prepara-

^e Isidor. Hist. Goth.^f Ferreras Hist. de Hispana, part. iii.

sect. vi.

^g Mariana Hist. de Hispana, lib. v. cap. 13.^h Isid. Hist. Goth. J. Biclár. Greg. Turon.ⁱ Isid.

tions were supposed to be intended against one party, he suddenly made peace with it, and turned his arms against another. He acted on the defensive against the Franks, because he knew conquest on that side would be very difficult to make, and more difficult to keep. He laid hold of proper occasions, so that his designs were never rendered abortive by his impatience. He made the Imperialists feel the weight of his arms, that they might be afraid of offending him; and, as soon as an opportunity offered, he reduced the countries inhabited by the Suevi, while the power of their neighbours was but low, and their own affairs in great confusion.

S E C T. II.

The History of the Suevi, Sueves, or Suevians, settled in Spain, from the Restitution of their Government under Remismund, to the total Destruction of their Kingdom by the Visigoths.

The condition of this nation.

THE manner in which the Suevi, with other barbarous nations, entered into Spain, in the beginning of the fifth century, as also how the Visigoths came to engage in a war with this nation, at the request, or at least with the consent, of the Roman emperor, many years after, have been clearly and copiously explained in their proper places. We are, in this section, to take up the thread of the history, and to shew how, after the defeat and death of that obstinate prince, who had involved this nation in an unjust, and, at the same time, an unnecessary war, by which they were undone, they came to retrieve their affairs, so far as to think of reviving their government, and of demanding leave from Theodoric, king of the Goths, to proceed to the election of a new prince; in consequence of which they began once more to make a figure, though by no means equal to that which they had made, before the subversion of their former monarchy^a. It is true they were still, in point of numbers, very considerable; but less brave, and still more barbarous in their manners than the Goths, and at the same time so pent up in that small district, which they still retained,

^a Idatii Episcopi Chronicon. p. 34. Isidor. Chron. & Hist. Suev. Ferreras, part iii. sect. v.

comprehending part of Lusitania, and part of Galicia, that they scarce knew how to act, or on which side to turn. For the Romans were still in possession of the opposite coasts of Spain, and the best part of Lusitania, and the Goths enjoyed all the interior part of the country; at the same time the people of Galicia, though they might have been absolutely free, yet chose to style themselves subjects of the empire, and, in that quality, acted against the Suevi with all the force they were able to raise; and yet with no great effect (A).

The proposition made on behalf of this nation to Theodoric, as it was a mark of their submission, met with a favourable reception; and they might have brought their affairs into some tolerable order, if they could have been unanimous in their election; but they split into parties, and set up two kings; Maldras, who had been at the head of such as endeavoured to preserve their independency, and Frontan, who was in the greatest credit with the opposite faction ^b. The former of these princes fell with his adherents into Lusitania, where he committed great cruelties upon the Romans, and treacherously surprised the city of Lisbon; while the latter, and those who stuck to him, remained in Galicia, where they made peace with the natives. Frontan did not long survive this event; and, upon his demise, Remismond was chosen king by his adherents. Maldras made another irruption into Lusitania, where he committed great cruelties; and Remismond, on the other hand, forgetting the treaty that was so lately concluded, renewed his incursions into Galicia; but the inhabitants defended themselves so well, that the Suevi were able to make no great impression ^c. The subjects of Maldras being offended with his barbarous temper, which had prompted him to the murder of his brother, killed him in a tumult, and set up Frumarius for his successor. Remismond, taking advantage of the Easter holidays, which in those days were observed with great devotion, surprised the city of Lugo, put the governor and most of the inhabitants to death, and pillaged the place. But Neposianus, at the head of the Roman troops, and Sueneric, who commanded the forces of the Goths, advancing to the relief of the Galicians, killed great num-

A.D. 458.

*Maldras,
Frontan,
Remis-
mond, Fru-
marius,
bear the ti-
tle of kings.*

^a Idat. p. 35. Jornand. ^c Sidon. Panag.

(A) Rechfarius, the last king of the Suevi, had been defeated and put to death, by Theodo-

ric, whom he had provoked to a rupture.

bers

bers of these invaders, and forced them to abandon their new conquests. Some false reports having engaged these generals to retire, the Suevi renewed their incursions, and did as much mischief as ever; till Remismond had intelligence that Frumarius was advancing towards him with a numerous army; upon which he disposed every thing to meet him, in order to decide their pretensions by a battle.

This interval gave some relief to the long-harassed natives of Galicia; and their quiet lasted longer than it otherwise would have done, from the event of this action, which, though fought with great resolution on both sides, and extremely bloody, yet proved only a drawn battle, by which both parties were so weakened, that it was agreed to send ambassadors to king Theodoric ^d, and to desire his interposition; yet as soon as they had breathed a little, and notwithstanding this reference, Remismond renewed his incursions into Galicia; of which the natives complaining to the king of the Visigoths, he sent Cyrilla to the city of Lugo, where he had a conference with the chief men amongst the Galicians, and afterwards made a temporary pacification with the king of the Suevi, which was of no long continuance ^e. In the midst of these transactions Frumarius died. Those who had remained subject to him, considering the mischiefs their whole nation had suffered by setting up two kings, and reflecting on the slaughter they had made of each other in the last battle, very prudently dispatched deputies to acquaint Remismond with what had happened, and to offer him their obedience, which he very willingly accepted ^f. At this time, therefore, the restitution of their monarchy may be properly placed, and the former looked upon as times of confusion.

*Remismond,
sole mo-
narch of
the Suevi.*

The first step taken by Remismond, after he became the sole monarch of this nation, was to send ambassadors to Theodoric, to acquaint him with this event, and to desire that he would bestow upon the king of the Suevi one of his daughters in marriage; which proposition was very kindly received. The princess, with a large sum of money for her dower, was committed to the care of the ambassadors, and sent with a numerous escorte of troops from Tholouse, where Theodoric kept his court, to the frontiers of Galicia, where Remismond received her, and the marriage was solemnized with great pomp and

^d Isidor.

^e Idat. p. 39.

^f Idat. p. 42.

splendor. About two years after this marriage, Remismond, taking advantage of the confused state of affairs in Spain, surprised the city of Coimbra, and, after having pillaged it, abandoned his conquest. At the same time, this monarch, in compliance with his queen, embraced the Arian heresy, and sent ambassadors to his brother-in-law the king of the Visigoths, to desire that he would send certain prelates to instruct his subjects in that belief. Accordingly one Ajax, by birth a Gaul^z, repaired to the court of Remismond; and thus the Suevi, who, it seems, were ready to embrace their monarch's religion, received the first tincture of Arianism. This alliance with the Visigoths did not hinder the king of the Suevi from making fresh irruptions into Galicia, where he pillaged the town of Aunona, or Abona, between the rivers of Douro and Minho, though they were under the protection of Theodoric, and treated the inhabitants with great cruelty; upon which they sent deputies to Tholouse, to complain of this treatment^b. Theodoric sent ambassadors to expostulate upon the matter with his son-in-law, but without effect; a circumstance which might possibly have raised some disputes between them, if the monarch of the Goths had not been killed by his brother Euric about this time, as has been already mentionedⁱ.

This circumstance seems to have been favourable to the views of Remismond, who gave a kind reception to the ambassadors of Euric, renewed his alliance with the Goths, and soon after plundered all the adjacent country. In the course of the following year, in consequence of intelligence he had with Lusidius, he made himself master of Lisbon; upon which the Goths, who were in Spain, and saw his soldiers enriched by these predatory expeditions, followed their example, and plundered the territories of the Suevi, and the Romans without distinction. All this time Remismond had ambassadors at Tholouse and at Rome, who, it is probable, acted the part of spies also, and gave him intelligence of the situation things were in, and the understanding that there was between the Romans and the Goths, that he might take his measures accordingly, and extend his territories on both sides, while it was not in the power of either of those princes to send a number of forces into Spain, sufficient to curb these insolent and perfidious breaches of peace. It is highly probable, that, in the course of his reign, he made very considerable acquisitions, and reduced his subjects into better order than

^z *Id.* Chron. Idat. p. 43.

^b *Id.* p. 44.

ⁱ *Jornand.*

that in which he found them. But what were the consequences of this, how long he reigned, whether he established the royal seat at Braga, when or where he died, or was buried, is out of our power to relate, since there is an absolute chasm in the history of this nation for upwards of fourscore years; so that we know not so much as the names of those kings who reigned during that space, at least with any tolerable degree of certainty. We must therefore rely upon the indulgence of the reader for this involuntary omission, and proceed to the next prince, of whom we find any account, either in the ancient chronicles or Spanish historians ^p of later date, who have been very industrious in their researches.

A.D. 550.

*Carriaric,
king of the
Suevi, con-
verted to
the catholic
faith.*

Carriaric, or Theudemir, was king of the Suevi in the middle of the sixth century, and contemporary with Agila king of the Visigoths. He appears to have been a prince of a mild and pacific disposition, under whom the Suevi were in a very flourishing condition, since it is manifest that his dominions comprehended the kingdoms of Portugal and Galicia, and the best part, if not all, of the principality of Asturias ^q. This monarch had an only son, who fell into a wasting dangerous disease, which baffled the skill of the physicians of those times, and inclined his father, abandoning all other helps, to address himself wholly to devotion ^r. He had heard of miracles wrought by the intercession of St. Martin, bishop of Tours, and therefore made a vow, that if, through the interposition of this saint, his son recovered, he would embrace the faith of this holy bishop; that is, he would become a Catholic. Having taken this resolution, he sent deputies to visit the tomb of St. Martin on his behalf, who carried presents to the saint, in gold and silver, equal in weight to his son. At their return, they made a faithful report of the wonders they had heard and seen; but, in the mean time, the young prince was not at all the better for their offerings. Carriaric attributed this miscarriage to his remaining still an Arian, upon which he thought fit to embrace the Catholic religion without delay, caused the plan of a fine church, which he intended to dedicate to St. Martin, to be drawn, and laid the foundation; immediately after which he dispatched deputies a second time with richer presents than before, and orders to obtain some of the relics of that saint for his new church ^s.

^p Mar. Hist. de Hispana, lib. v. Ferr. p. iii. sect. v. Mayerne Turquet. ^q Ferr. Hist. de Hispan. p. iii. sect. vi. ^r Greg. Turon. de Mirac. S. Martini Turon. cap. 2. ^s Greg. Turon. de Mirac.

They succeeded in all their requests, and the prince perfectly recovered; upon which he embraced the Catholic religion as well as his father, and, at his confirmation, took the name of Theodomir¹. We know nothing farther of this monarch; and we should have known nothing of him at all, if this transaction had not been related at large by Gregory of Tours. This king died in the year 559, and was buried in the new church he had built to the honour of St. Martin, which is believed to be the cathedral of Orense, a province of Valencia².

Theodomir, who succeeded his father, held, in the third year of his reign, a council at Braga, which was his capital, where he made a solemn abjuration of the Arian heresy; in which step, it seems, he was followed by most of the prelates and clergy in his dominions, to the general satisfaction of his subjects, many of whom were Catholics before. About six years after, he held another council in the city of Lugo, in which it was resolved to render that see metropolitan; which circumstance we mention, because it affords us the fairest opportunity of coming at a distinct knowledge of the provinces which made up this monarchy³. To the old metropolitan of Braga the following bishops were to remain suffragans, viz. Porto, Lamego, Coimbra, Viseu, Idogna, and Dume; whereas the new metropolitan of Lugo had for his suffragans the bishops of Iria, Orense, Tuy, Britonia now called Mondogredo, and Astorga; so that, in the dominions of Theodomir, there were twelve dioceses. This prince died in the latter end of the year 569.

Mir, or, as Mariana calls him, Miro, succeeded his father Theodomir, and was also a prince of great piety. He seems, however, to have found himself obliged to act under the influence of Leovigilde, king of the Visigoths, in conjunction with whom he attacked the territories which the Imperialists possessed in Spain, and forced the Rucones to acknowledge him for their sovereign⁴. It has been matter of doubt who these people were, or where their country was situated; but there seems to be no room to question, that till this time they had been subject to the Roman governors, and that the Suevi made war upon them as the allies of the Visigoths. It was not long

A.D. 563.

*Theodomir
succeeds his
father in
that mo-
narchy.*

A.D. 572.

*Mir, or
Miro, be-
comes king
of the Sue-
vi.*

¹ Ferr. Hist. de Hispana, p. iii. sect. vi. ² Ibid. de Script. Ferr. ubi sup.

³ Ferr. Hist. Hispana, p. iii. sect. vi. Conc. tom. v. p. 874. Card. d'Aguir. tom. ii. p. 299. ⁴ J. Biclár. Mariana, Historia de Hispana, lib. v. Ferratas, Historia Hispana, p. iii. sect. 6.

after this event, that the king assembled the second council of Braga, at which both the metropolitans, and most of their suffragans, assisted. He called, in the following year, an assembly of the states of his kingdom, at Lugo, where various regulations, chiefly respecting the church, were made. In the disputes that happened between the king of the Visigoths and his son, Mir, out of his zeal for religion, was inclined to favour Hermenigilde, or at least to support the Catholics; but not having a strength sufficient for this purpose, he sent ambassadors to Gontran, one of the monarchs of the Franks, to engage his assistance in the same cause. His ambassadors unluckily passing through the territories of Chilperic, king of Soissons, that prince caused them to be seized, and kept in prison, till, by another embassy to him, king Mir procured their release. We have shewn, in the foregoing section, what share this monarch took when things came to extremities between king Leovigilde and his son Hermenigilde, and how, after raising an army in favour of the latter, he was constrained to employ it, or at least to suffer it to be employed, against that unfortunate prince, in whose defence it was raised. Whether this misfortune had an effect upon his spirits, or whether the fatigues of the expedition, joined to bad air and unwholesome waters, proved injurious to his health, so it was, that, upon his return to Braga, he was seized with a violent distemper, of which he speedily died, in the year 582 ¹.

A.D. 583.

Euric or Eboric succeeds, and is deposed by Andaca.

He was succeeded by his son Eboric, Evoric, or Euric, who was very young, and who, before he had wore the crown a year, was dispossessed of it by an ambitious nobleman, whose name was Andaca, contracted to his sister, but who, to fortify his usurpation, espoused Segonce, the widow of king Mir, and the mother-in-law of Eboric, whom he thrust into a monastery, and obliged to enter into holy orders, that he might be incapable of resuming the crown ².

A.D. 584.

The Visigoths defeat the usurper.

Andaca did not long enjoy the fruits of his disloyalty, or the title of king which he had usurped; for, as soon as Leovigilde had reduced the Imperialists to sue for peace, he suddenly turned his arms against the Suevi, wasting all their country with fire and sword, till he entered Braga, which was the capital, where he deposed Andaca, obliged him to enter into holy orders, and then banished him to Badajoz ³. Thus an end was put to the kingdom of the

¹ Greg. Tur. lib. vi. cap. 43. ² Ibid. Hist. Suev. Greg. Tur. J. Biclár. ³ Adonis Chron. p. 188. Ibid. Hist. Suev. J. Biclár. Suevi;

Suevi ; for the country was reduced to the condition of a province, notwithstanding the efforts made by one Amalaric, who assumed the title of king, but was quickly defeated by the generals of Leovigilde, who sent him prisoner to their master : the subversion of this kingdom happened in the year 584 ^y.

As we have no mention made at all of the affairs of the Suevi, in any other than church chronicles, and the writings of other ecclesiastics, as in truth the learning of those times was wholly among the clergy, so we cannot reasonably expect, that, from their short memorials, we should be able to collect much, either as to the manners or the circumstances of this nation ; yet, notwithstanding their silence, there are several good reasons for believing that the Suevi, at the time of their being subdued by the Goths, were at least as opulent, if not more so, than the rest of the inhabitants of Spain ; for all the ancient writers agree, that the countries occupied by them were very fertile in corn, abounding in fruits, and exceedingly rich in metals ; so that if it was well peopled, and those people industrious, they must have been rich. Secondly, they had enjoyed a profound peace for near a century ; for, if they had but engaged in any wars either against the Visigoths or Romans, there could not have been such a gap in their history ; and, lastly, having so long a tract of coast, it is not possible that they should have been without commerce. It is true, that these are conjectures only ; but it is also true, that they may be supported from facts, since what is reported of king Carriaric, the presents sent by him to the tomb of St. Martin at Tours, the building and endowment of churches and monasteries in his reign, shew him to have been rich, at least for those times. The number of bishops sees in his dominions, which, though in extent not a third part of Spain, were at least half the number of dioceses in that country, is an additional proof ; and the seizing some ships belonging to the Franks, on the apprehension of a rupture, demonstrates, that the ascribing some degree of commerce to these people is far from being a groundless supposition ^z.

^y *Ibid.* Hist. Suevor. J. Biclár.
Greg. Tur.

^z *Ibid.* Hist. Suevor.

S E C T. III.

The History of the Visigoths, from the Reign of Reccared the First, the Catholic, to the entire Subversion of their Monarchy by the Moors.

The accession of Reccared the First.

THE principal nobility of the Goths readily concurred in raising to the throne Reccared, the only surviving son of their deceased monarch, who had deserved so well of the whole nation in his campaigns against the Franks. His first care, as soon as he was seated on the throne, was to pursue the negotiations his father had begun, in order to establish peace with that potent nation. It was with this view that he sent ambassadors to Gontran, king of Orleans and of Burgundy, who, notwithstanding his late defeats, absolutely refused to hear of an accommodation; but at the court of Childebert, king of Austrasia, these ministers were better received, and, on the assurances they gave, that Reccared was so far from having any share in the death of his brother, that he beheld it with the utmost detestation, a treaty of peace was speedily concluded. In the mean time Sisbert, by whose hands Hermenigilde was said to be put to death, and who had been captain of the guard to the late king, engaged in some dangerous designs against the new monarch, which brought upon him the punishment he deserved. In the course of this summer the forces of Gontran made an irruption, under the command of Didier and Austrovalde, into the provinces which the Goths still held in Gaul, and, being very numerous, carried all before them. At length the army of Reccared endeavoured to stop their progress, and was quickly routed; but Didier, with that impetuosity natural to his nation, pushing the victory too far, and appearing with a small body of forces before Carcassone, where the Goths had taken shelter, they suddenly marched out, and, having surrounded, cut him and his people to pieces; an advantage which so elevated their spirits, that they proceeded directly to the attack of the rest of the army under Austrovalde, whom they also defeated with great slaughter*. Intelligence of this victory

* Mariana, Hist. de Hispana, lib. v. cap. 14. Mayerne Turquet, Histoire generale d'Espagne, lib. v. chap. 15. Ferreras, Historia de Hispana, p. iii. sect. 6.

was extremely welcome at the court of Toledo, and might perhaps contribute not a little to facilitate the great work the king had then upon the carpet (A).

The conversion of the king had been early brought about by Leander, metropolitan of Seville; but the declaring himself publicly a Catholic was still considered as a very delicate point. At length, after the great victory obtained over the Franks, it was resolved that the king should propose to the grandees and prelates about his person, the introduction of the Catholic religion throughout his dominions; which he accordingly did, in the month of October; and the motion was received with all the exterior marks of approbation and applause^b.

His declaration of his conversion.

In the very beginning of the next year Autalacus, an Arian bishop, caballed with two counts, Granist and Vildegern, who were likewise dissatisfied with the king's measures, to raise a general insurrection. In this they succeeded so far, that, at their instance, a considerable body of people took up arms, and falling suddenly upon the Catholics, killed many of them, and, amongst them, several ecclesiastics; but the principal officers of the king's troops, being firmly attached to their duty, quickly assembled an army, and put the rebels to flight, the two counts being killed upon the spot; an incident which put an end to this affair, and to the life of the Arian bishop, who is said to have died of discontent. This catastrophe did not hinder the forming a new and more dangerous conspiracy, of which Sunna, an Arian prelate, who had been metropolitan of Merida, and in high favour with the late king, was the author. He drew to his party two counts, Witeric and Siggon. These doubting of their interest in the city of Toledo, resolved to open their enterprize at Merida with the murder of Mausona, the metropolitan, and Claudius, the

A.D. 537.

Several conspiracies formed by the Arians against the king's person and government.

^b Greg. Tur. lib. ix. cap. 15.

(A) According to the French historians, the true cause of that extraordinary and obstinate aversion, shewn by king Gontran towards the monarch of the Visigoths, was openly imputed to the intrigues of Leovigilde with that restless princess Fredegonde, which were alleged to have been carried on in the darkest manner, and for the worst purposes (1).

(1) Greg. Tur. lib. viii. cap. 38.

governor of the city ^c (B). The scheme laid for bringing their design about was this : Sunna proposed a conference with Mausona, under the pretence of abjuring his heresy ; this conference was to be held in the portico of the cathedral church, and in the presence of Claudius. Wite-ric, who was that nobleman's great favourite, undertook to dispatch him and the metropolitan as he stood behind their backs ; and count Siggon was to assemble a number of Arians to support this action when it was done, and to seize the city. All things succeeded so far to their

^c Paul Diacon. Emeritenf. de Vitis Patrum Emeritenfium, cap. 17, 18.

(B) These honours, which in Latin are *dux* and *comes*, in Spanish *duc* or *duque* and *conde*, were unknown to the ancient Romans, and first introduced under the Greek emperors. When, therefore, the kings of the Visigoths became so potent, as that they apprehended very little difference between them and the emperors of Constantinople, they judged it a manifestation of their own greatness to introduce the same titles ; the rather, because the inhabitants of their dominions, having been subjects of the empire, were accustomed to those titles, and to give such as were clothed with them all the reverence they could expect. The duke was in those days a military honour, and the person who bore it was commander in chief of the forces within a certain province, whence in process of time he was distinguished by the name of that province, came gradually to have a nearer relation to it, and to exercise, in the name

of the sovereign, a civil jurisdiction also ; which in Spain, if we may credit Mariana, advanced pretty early to the prerogative of directing the mint, whence that species of money called ducats received its name. Count, again, was not originally a local honour, but a title of office ; some were governors of towns ; others officers in the army, and denominated from the nature of the corps they commanded ; so that there were counts of the archers, counts of pioneers, &c. Others were officers in the king's household, and they were distinguished in the like manner ; so that there were counts of the butlers, counts of the stable, whence the title of constable is derived ; and others were counts by their names, which was a mere honorary title. It is requisite farther to observe, that the same person was often both duke and count, and that these honours were in this age, and long after, personal only, and not hereditary (1).

(1) Solaza de Mendoza, Orig. de las Dignidades, lib. i. cap. 7.

wish; Witeric took his post, at the interview, behind the duke and the prelate; while Sunna made a long speech, to give him an opportunity of performing what he promised; but Witeric's dagger stuck so fast in the scabbard, that he was not able to draw it^d. Another plan was then laid, at a public procession; but in the mean time Witeric, from motives either of piety or ambition, disclosed the whole matter to Claudius, who caused the principal conspirators to be apprehended, and gave the king a distinct account of all that had happened, by whose orders they were severely punished^e (C).

These proceedings taught the Arians to act with greater caution, as they still persisted in their design of retrieving their lost power. With this view Gofuintha, the dowager of Athanagilde, and Leovigilde, who had embraced the Catholic religion in appearance, took her measures privately with Ubila, an Arian bishop, to remove the king, whom they considered as the great obstacle to their designs; but the plot being discovered, Ubila, out of respect to his character, was banished only; and, while it was under deliberation what should be done with Gofuintha, that miserable princess died, either through remorse or despair. The king, to give a check to this spi-

A. D. 588.

*A plot of
the queen
dowager.*

^d Paul Diacon. Emeritenf.

^e Mariana, & al.

(C) The detection of this plot gave the king, and his minister, duke Claudius, an opportunity, which they did not let slip, of crushing the heretics effectually, by seizing on the persons of the principal leaders, disarming the common people, and taking proper measures to put resistance out of their power. As to the chief conspirator Sunna, so much regard was shewn to his episcopal character, that it was offered to his choice, whether he would abjure his heresy, or quit the kingdom. He chose the latter; and was sent to Africa, where he died. Count Vacri-

la, who was very deep in this detestable design, fled to the church of St. Eulalia, and obstinately refused to submit himself to justice. Upon this, judgment was given against him, that he should remain the servant or slave of that church for life, and be employed in such kind of work as the clergy should think proper. Count Paul Siggon had both his hands cut off, and was banished into Galicia. Those of the better sort, who had been engaged with them, lost their offices and estates, and the meanest of the conspirators were sent into exile (1).

(1) Paul Diacon. ubi supra.

rit of heresy, ordered all the writings in favour of Arianism to be brought in and burnt. He next renewed, or rather attempted to renew, his negotiation with Gontran, king of Orleans and Burgundy, who remained as inflexible as ever; and sent a fresh army of sixty thousand men, under the command of Bosont to support Austrovalde, who, having recruited his army, had taken Carcassone. The king of the Visigoths sent Claudius, who was governor of Lusitania, to command in Gaul, where he had the good fortune to gain a surprising victory, which would have done more honour to the Spanish arm with posterity, if their authors had not related it with such circumstances as render it altogether incredible^f (D).

King

^f P. Daniel, tom. i. p. 320.

(D) The French general Austrovalde entered the territories of the Visigoths with a numerous body of troops, and, meeting with little resistance, advanced to Carcassone, of which he took possession. Soon after this event arrived Boson, with a more considerable army, and vested with the chief command. He was displeased with the conduct of Austrovalde, and the disputes between these commanders had a very bad effect on their inferior officers and their troops, which, joined to the want of any apparent strength to oppose them, occasioned such a contempt of discipline, and such general licentiousness, as must have rendered them an easy conquest to the Visigoths, if they had had any army in the field; but, the forces in the Spanish province were so much inferior, that they retired to the mountains, and satisfied themselves with taking possession of the passes, where they waited the arrival of duke Claudius with the troops under his command.

After their junction, Claudius found his army much inferior to the enemy, but withal perceived that they wanted discipline, and were without intelligence. He caused, therefore, his army to advance, as near the camp as was practicable without a discovery. He then put himself at the head of a small body of his best men, and boldly attacked their camp, where, finding them feasting, and in confusion, he made a prodigious slaughter before they were in any condition to make a proper defence. At length Boson, having put part of the army into tolerable order, attacked the Visigoths in his turn; upon which duke Claudius made at first a show, and in a little time a precipitate retreat. The French general, pushed him vigorously, the whole army joining in the pursuit, till they found themselves on a sudden attacked by the Visigoths on both their flanks, while duke Claudius, with that handful of brave men under his immediate command, made a noble

King Reccared, being very desirous to settle the affairs of the church on a firm basis, summoned for that purpose a council at Toledo, where five metropolitans and sixty-two bishops assembled, and made several canons, which were signed by the king, the metropolitans, and the prelates; and thus the conversion of the Goths to the Catholic faith became a national act^a. But, notwithstanding the seeming unanimity with which this great affair was transacted, Argimond, a nobleman in great credit with the king, governor of one of the principal provinces in his dominions, and who had free access to his person, framed a treacherous design against his life, in which he found means to embark a great many persons of different ranks, a circumstance which very probably made way for the discovery and punishment of himself and other offenders^b (E). The Jews petitioned the king to abrogate one of the canons of the late council, by which they were rendered incapable of public offices, of keeping Christian slaves or concubines; and, that they might induce him

A. D. 589.

The Catholic religion established in the first council of Toledo.

^a Concil. tom. v. p. 997. Concil. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 338. ^b J. Biclár. in Chron.

noble stand; so that in a little space the rout became general; and the French, abandoning the field of battle, placed all hopes of safety in a speedy flight. A French historian, who lived in those times, acquaints us, that there were five thousand killed, and three thousand taken prisoners; but the Spanish historians unanimously affirm, that this was the most decisive victory gained in that age, and so it appears to have been from its consequences, for the French, who were before altogether intractable, began to be well inclined to peace; and Reccared, who was a prince remarkable for his moderation, made a right use of his victory, by concluding an advantageous

treaty, without trusting to the uncertain hopes of future victories.

(E) The king, who saw how much his clemency had been abused, dealt with count Argimond and his associates much more severely than had been practised in regard to the former conspirators; for, in the first place, the count's head was shaved, which ceremony as Mariana remarks, degraded and rendered him infamous; then he was whipped, and his right hand cut off: after this, being mounted on a mule, he was led through the streets of the capital, and exposed to the derision of the people; and, lastly, was beheaded; all his accomplices were likewise punished with death (1).

(1, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

the more readily to exert his authority, they offered him a very large sum of money, which Reccared, with a magnanimity worthy of so great a prince, rejected with disdain¹. Upon the death of his queen Bada, Reccared demanded in marriage Clodofinde, the daughter of Brunehaud, and the sister of Ingonde, whom he obtained, not-

A. D. 592. withstanding she had been promised in marriage to the king of the Lombards, who was an Arian; but it is thought that he in some measure purchased this marriage by the cession of the two fortresses of Jubiniac and Corneillan, part of his dominions in Gaul, to queen Brunehaud^k; and it is believed that Clodofinde was sent into Spain, though we have no distinct account of the celebration of this marriage by any of the ancient historians^l.

A. D. 593. Reccared also sent ambassadors to compliment pope Gregory the Great, and to carry him presents of a considerable value, to facilitate a request he made him to procure an extract of the treaties between his predecessor Athanagilde and the emperor Justinian, that he might be precisely acquainted upon what terms the Imperialists held the territories which they still possessed in Spain.

A. D. 595. The patrician, who at this time governed those countries on behalf of the Greek emperor, had suffered his people to make some excursions into the dominions of king Reccared, who resolved to take this occasion of reducing these people within bounds. He accordingly chastized them in several expeditions; but he was a prince of such great justice, that, notwithstanding the provocation he had received, and the superiority of his forces, he would not attempt an absolute conquest, but granted them a peace upon equitable terms. This war was hardly finished, before he found himself embarked in another against the Gascons, who had retired into Gaul in the reign of his father, and, elevated by their success there, made an irruption into the country which they had formerly possessed in Spain; however, the forces which Reccared sent against them quickly recovered the places they had taken, and compelled them to repass the Pyrenees. These military exploits interrupted, in some measure, the king's endeavours to regulate the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of his monarchy; but, as soon as peace was restored, he resumed those salutary projects: he took care to revise the

*Reccared's
excellent
government.*

¹ S. Greg. Epist. lib. vii. ep. 223.
cap. 16, 23.

^k Greg. Tur. lib. xix.
^l P. Daniel, tom. i. p. 328, 329.

laws of the Goths, and to make such alterations as the change of customs and manners had rendered necessary. He was employed in this and other laudable acts, when he was seized with that illness which deprived Spain of so great and good a prince^m, in the month of February, in the year 591. A. D. 599.

He left behind him three sons, Liuva, Suintila, and Geila; but who were the mothers of these princes, is by no means clearⁿ. The eldest is supposed to have been a natural child, begotten on some woman of mean condition, five years before his accession to the crown; and it is very likely the other two were the sons of Bada, since there is no author that mentions his having issue by queen Clodofinde. The respect of the nobility, and the affection of the people towards his memory, were so strong, that, notwithstanding the blemish in his birth, and his being but twenty years of age, Liuva was elected and proclaimed king without opposition. The dawn and the close of his reign, however, followed close upon each other; for, notwithstanding he was a young prince of great hopes, and did nothing that ought to have deprived him of the affections of his people, yet he was quickly despoiled of his crown, his liberty, and his life. The instrument of all this mischief was Witeric, whose life his father had spared. We have but a very dark account how it was brought about, and shall therefore follow the sentiments of an eminent historian, who suggests, that this cunning traitor first inveigled the young prince to signalize his very accession to the throne by the expulsion of the Imperialists. Being intrusted with the army that was to perform this great action, he corrupted the principal officers, and, with their assistance, not only deposed the king, but cut off his right hand, thrust him into prison, and not long after put him to death^o. A. D. 601.

Witeric was immediately declared king by those who had assisted him in the perpetration of these cruelties. As if he intended to shew that he was not altogether unworthy of that dignity to which he was raised in so unwarrantable a manner, he prosecuted the war against the Imperialists with vigour. In a general action in the neighbourhood of Sigüenza, he gained a complete victory, and brought their affairs into the utmost distress^p. A. D. 603.

Witeric was immediately declared king by those who had assisted him in the perpetration of these cruelties. As if he intended to shew that he was not altogether unworthy of that dignity to which he was raised in so unwarrantable a manner, he prosecuted the war against the Imperialists with vigour. In a general action in the neighbourhood of Sigüenza, he gained a complete victory, and brought their affairs into the utmost distress^p. A. D. 604.

Witeric raised to the throne, and engaged in a dispute with the Franks.

^m Hist. Goth. ⁿ Mariana, Historia de Hispania, lib. vi. cap. 1. Mayerne Turquet, lib. v. Ferreras, Historia Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7. ^o Ferreras, Historia Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7. ^p Isidor. Hist. Goth.

This gained him some reputation, for the populace are always on the side of success. Soon after this incident Theodoric, king of Burgundy, demanded in marriage the princess Hermenbergue his daughter, testifying, at the same time, a desire that the feuds which had so long subsisted between the Franks and the Visigoths might, in consequence of this marriage, be buried in perpetual oblivion^q. This match flattered the vanity of Witeric extremely; he was doubtful how the neighbouring princes would relish the method by which he rose to sovereignty, and was charmed with this mark of deference and esteem which he could so little expect. He treated the ambassadors with all imaginable kindness, yielded very graciously to their request, and sent the princess Hermenbergue back with them into France, with a numerous and magnificent equipage. This scene of triumph was, however, quickly interrupted; Theodoric took some distaste to Hermenbergue, and sent her back again to her father^r. Some say, and it is not at all improbable, that A. D. 608. Brunchaud effected this measure by her intrigues; but, however it was brought about, the insult so exceedingly offended Witeric, that he endeavoured to form a confederacy with the monarchs of the Franks and Lombards against the king of Burgundy, in order to strip him totally of his dominions, in revenge of the affront offered to his daughter.

This negotiation, which he pursued with indefatigable zeal, and at a vast expence, succeeded to his wish; Clotaire, king of Soissons, Theodobert, king of Austrasia, together with Agilulph, king of the Lombards, entered into the alliance; and the division of Theodoric's dominions was already settled, when, by promising Theodobert better conditions than were allowed him by this treaty, Theodoric drew him to his side, and the rest of the princes growing dissident of each other, the league was dissolved^s. This disappointment rendered Witeric despised at home, where the ill usage the daughter had received was ascribed to the wickedness of the father; and a rumour was spread at the same time, that he was privately an Arian, and meant to restore that heresy. Such a general defection ensued, as prompted some, whom he had disoblged, to fall upon him as he sat at dinner, without the least suspicion of what happened. Having

^q Fredeg. in Chron.
tom. i. p. 372.

^r P. Daniel, Histoire de France,
^s Fredeg. in Chron.

stabbed him, they threw the body out to the people, who, after dragging it through the streets, and offering a thousand insults, at last buried it amongst malefactors executed for their crimes. This event happened in the year 610^t.

Amongst those who directed the resentment of the populace against the miserable Witeric, was one Gundemar, a man of great quality, adorned with many virtues. He had previously formed schemes for placing himself upon the throne, and they were attended with success; for, very soon after the death of Witeric, he was elected and declared king. He studied to maintain a constant correspondence with the Franks, which for many ages was looked upon as a mark of prudence and good policy; but, from some papers which have been seen by Mariana, and other Spanish historians, it appears, that he bought their friendship by annual pensions, which did him no honour in the sentiments of the Visigoths, accustomed to receive rather than pay such kind of tribute. Yet in his person he was brave; and had no sooner information that the Gascons had renewed their incursions, than he marched against them with an army, entered their country, which he laid waste with fire and sword, obliging them to take shelter in their mountains. After his return to his capital, he directed a council to be held at Carthagená, in which several canons were made by the prelates who assisted therein, which he afterwards signed and confirmed; a plain proof that the king's supremacy remained as yet unimpeached in Spain^u. While he was thus employed, the Imperialists committed hostilities against his subjects, which constrained him to turn his arms against them; and they, finding their forces far inferior to the Goths, retired to a strong camp, where they fortified themselves. Gundemar, however, attacked and carried their intrenchments, gaining a signal and a bloody victory, which terribly distressed their affairs, and extinguished all desires of revenge for the present^w. He then returned into his own dominions, and held another assembly of the clergy; soon after which he fell sick, and died in the beginning of the year 612, when he had governed but a short time, and had rather raised than satisfied the expectations of his subjects, who, notwithstanding, ex-

A. D. 610.

Gundemar's election, and short reign over the Visigoths.

A. D. 611.

^t *Ibid.* Hist. Goth. ^u Concil. tom. v. p. 620. Card. d'Aguirre, Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 453. ^w *Ibid.* Hist. Goth.

pressed great concern for his death, on account of the unquestionable proofs he had given of his piety, courage, and zeal for the public welfare *.

Sisebut advanced to the throne.

A. D. 613.

A. D. 614.

Sisebut was elected upon the demise of Gundemar, with the universal approbation of the nobility and clergy, on account of his many excellent qualities, amongst which his learning was not the least conspicuous. He was scarce seated on the throne, before the public tranquility was disturbed by two insurrections, one of the Asturians, and the other of the Rucons : against the former the king sent a body of troops commanded by Rechila ; and detached another against the Rucons, at the head of which was prince Suintila, in the sentiments of many the son of Reccared. Both these officers met with all the success that could be expected, obliging the people to return to their duty, after they had chastized them for departing from it. This expedition gave credit to his arms at the beginning of his reign, and afforded him rational hopes of success in the design he had formed of completing, what several of his predecessors had made some trials to effect, the entire reduction of what the Imperialists possessed in Spain, where at this time they were masters of the whole coast, from the straits of Gibraltar to the frontiers of Valencia, and had also the little country of Algarve, with a line of numerous little fortresses along their frontiers. As he knew that this conquest would be very acceptable to his subjects, and would deliver his successors from many inconveniencies, he made the necessary preparations for assembling a potent army, and for providing all things necessary for their keeping the field longer than was usual in those days. These preparations could not be made without affording the enemy an opportunity of guessing at least his design, and consequently of providing for their own defence ; though it does not appear, from their method of managing the war, that they fully penetrated the scheme of king Sisebut, or believed there was any danger of his executing it, if they did ; since, if they had, they would certainly have acted only on the defensive, and avoided themselves of the strong places they had fortified with so much care.

The patrician Cesarius had at this time the direction of the affairs of the Imperialists in Spain ; and, as soon as he was informed that Sisebut was at the head of his army, he marched with his forces to give him battle, in which he

was totally defeated. Sisebut prosecuted his victory like a great captain, and actually reduced several great towns on the frontiers, which none of his predecessors had ventured to attack. Cefarius, believing that the only method left to deliver his country from so formidable an enemy was to bring on another engagement, in which he might have better fortune, took all imaginable pains to recruit his army, attributing the success of the Goths in their last action to their superiority in number. Experience convinced him of his error; he fought again, and was again defeated, with much greater loss than before; for, exclusive of those who were killed on the field of battle, many thousands of his soldiers were taken prisoners. Sisebut availed himself fully of this victory like an able general, and a good prince; for he gave directions that the utmost care should be taken of the wounded, paid the ransom of all the prisoners to his own soldiers, and then released and sent them home. This behaviour put it out of the power of Cefarius to raise another army, and most of the fortresses surrendered as soon as he appeared before them. The patrician knew not what to do with a prince whose clemency was more fatal to him than his courage; and, perceiving that he had conquest in view, he very prudently resolved to make the best terms he could. He sent, for this purpose, an ambassador to king Sisebut, under colour of doing honour to Cecilius, a bishop among the Visigoths, who, desirous of leading a quiet and retired life, had quitted his see, and taken shelter in a monastery among the Imperialists, from whom Sisebut had demanded him at the beginning of the war. By this ambassador Cefarius sent a letter to the king, desiring to know what terms the Imperialists might expect, in case, for avoiding the effusion of Christian blood, they should be disposed to submission. The king received the minister kindly, answered the letter graciously, acquainting Cefarius with his terms; who consented to them, provided he might have leave to send them to his master, the emperor Heraclius, for his approbation.

We are assured by Mariana, that king Sisebut, having made choice of Theodoric, a nobleman much in his confidence, to repair with Ansemond, whom Cefarius had appointed to carry the treaty to Constantinople, the emperor readily accepted it, adding only this condition, that the king of the Visigoths would rid his dominions of the

*Heraclius,
the Greek
emperor
ratifies the
treaty.*

Jews ; for Heraclius, who was much given to judicial astrology, and other superstitions, was exceedingly troubled about a prophecy, that the empire should be speedily subverted by a wandering and circumcised nation, enemies to the Christian faith, which he applied to the Jews ; and, not contented with persecuting them in his territories, pursued them into France, Spain, and other countries, with implacable resentment. However this matter may be, there are two things equally certain ; the first, that Sisebut did actually persecute the Jews, compelling numbers to be baptized, and obliging the rest to leave his territories, the other, that the emperor Heraclius ratified this treaty, and gave up all the country he possessed in Spain, along the coast of the Mediterranean, reserving only Algarve, as it is now called. Upon the execution of this treaty, it is believed that king Sisebut caused the city of Evora to be fortified, and several towers to be erected on his frontiers, for the protection of his subjects, in case the Imperialists should ever grow sick of being confined within such narrow bounds ². Such was the issue of this war, which did honour to the courage, the clemency, and the capacity, of this victorious monarch, who in so short a time atchieved a conquest so important.

A.D. 616.

His accomplishing one great design was, with this wise and able prince, only the first step to another ; for the inhabitants of the opposite coast of Africa committing frequent piracies upon those who were now become his subjects, he brought the whole naval force of his kingdom round to that side. As the most effectual method of putting an end to these disorders, he embarked the best part of his army that had subdued the Imperialists, and, making a descent in Mauritiana, reduced Tangier, Ceuta, and all the adjacent district, into which he put strong garrisons, and so freed his people at once and for ever from the dangers they were exposed to on that side ³. This was the last great action of his life, except that which some would persuade us brought upon him the judgment of a sudden death ; the reader will judge with what probability. The bishop of Barcelona permitted a play to be acted in his church, in which were introduced certain superstitious ceremonies of the pagan religion. Eusebius, metropolitan of Tarragona, to whom that bishop was a

A.D. 618.

² Epist. Patric. Cæsar, &c. Refend. Antiquit. Lusitanicæ.
³ Alfonso a Carthag. Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. Roder. Santii Epist. Palent.

suffragan, gave an account of this matter to the king, who immediately wrote him a letter, which is still preserved, directing him to depose that prelate, and to consecrate another in his stead. In this step it is pretended that the king exceeded the bounds of his authority; but those who say so, plainly beg the question, since the metropolitan's application to that monarch is such a proof of the supremacy of the kings of Spain in those times, as will never be overthrown by the surmise that the king's days were cut short on that account; a rumour the more impertinent, as the bishop was deposed before Easter one year, and the king did not die till the spring of the next, which was the year 621^b. A D. 620.

The nobility amongst the Goths believing it incumbent upon them to shew how true a sense they had of the merit of their late sovereign, set his son, though a minor, upon the throne; and he was accordingly declared king, by the name of Reccared the Second. He was endowed with many good qualities; and resembled his father so much in the whole turn of his disposition, that the nation unanimously approved the setting the crown upon his head, and promised themselves the greatest felicity under his reign; but the rejoicings for his accession were hardly over, before a general sense of sorrow was awakened by his death, which happened when he had held the sceptre three, or four months^c. We are not told where, or of what distemper, he died; but, it seems, he was no sooner dead, than the eyes of the Visigoths were turned upon prince Suintila; a circumstance which is not at all wonderful, if he really was, what Mariana and other historians affirm him to be, the son of Reccared the Catholic, by his queen Bada^d. The ancient historians, who could not be ignorant of the fact if it was so, are nevertheless silent upon this subject^e. However that matter might be, Suintila had personal merit enough to engage the attention of his countrymen, whose forces he had commanded in several expeditions, and had thereby established a reputation both of being an able and a successful general. *Reccared II. succeeds, and enjoys the regal dignity.*
A.D. 621.

Suintila began his reign by taking certain measures which were universally acceptable to his own subjects; for he directed that the laws should be strictly put in exe- *Suintila is seated on the throne.*

^b Ferreras, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7. ^c Ibid Hist. Goth. Roderic Santii Episc. Palent. ^d Alfons a Carthag. Reg. Hispan. Anacephalazosis. ^e Historia Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

cution, without respect of persons, and that proper care should be taken for the relief of the poor. By a steady attention to these points, the domestic tranquility of his people was secured, which however was quickly troubled from abroad by a formidable irruption of the Gascons, who spread terror and devastation wherever they came. The king had no sooner intelligence of this invasion, than he dispatched orders to the governors of the adjacent provinces to assemble forces, and secure the passages behind these barbarous invaders, who, finding themselves for some time unopposed, continued to advance, and to live every where at discretion. But it was not long before king Suintila appeared in person at the head of a numerous and well disciplined army; upon which the Gascons began a precipitate retreat; but finding it impossible to repass the mountains, and perceiving themselves environed on all hands, they sent deputies to the royal camp, to implore the king's compassion, on any terms that he should be pleased to prescribe ^f. Suintila gave these deputies a favourable reception; and having obliged the Gascons to restore all they had taken, and to build a strong fortress to prevent their future incursions, he suffered them to return home safely, with a gratuity for their labour. The name of this place was Oligoto, but modern writers are by no means agreed by what name it is distinguished at present ^g. Wherever it was, the king's clemency and prudence sufficiently appeared, in making so just and judicious an use of his superiority ^h.

A.D. 622.

*The Greeks
or Imperialists in-
tirely
driven out
of Spain.*

Suintila, desirous of achieving all that was still necessary to make his sovereignty independent and illustrious, conceived a design of driving the Imperialists out of that little corner which they still possessed about cape St. Vincent. His army was more than sufficient for that purpose; and therefore he made but little doubt of carrying this country in one or two campaigns. If it be true, which Mariana suggests, that the emperor Heraclius was so imprudent as to divide the government of this little territory, and to appoint two patricians, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, which gave the king of the Visigoths an opportunity of raising jealousies between them, it is no wonder that he thought the conquest easy; but it seems more probable, that there was but one patrician who ventured to give the king battle when he entered this country,

A.D. 623.

^f Luc. Tudens.
^h Mayerne Turquet.

^g Ferreras, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

and had the misfortune to fall in the engagement ; upon which another assumed the title and administration, till such time as the court of Constantinople thought proper to send a new governor, together with the necessary supplies. But the affairs of Heraclius were at this time in such confusion, and he found himself so hard pressed at home, that he was content to name a governor, and leave him at liberty to act according to the situation of things at his arrival. Suintila pushed his conquest with such vivacity, that the new patrician saw little or no hopes of preserving that country to his master : he collected, however, what forces were still left, and, with a courage inspired by despair, disposed all things for an obstinate resistance. The king, unwilling to expose an army, that had already done him so much service, to the loss that must have ensued from vanquishing men who had scarce any thing to lose but their lives, and who would therefore be sure to sell them dear, insinuated to the patrician, that though he looked upon his conquest as secure, yet he was unwilling to destroy so many brave men, who might be useful to their country, and to themselves elsewhere ; and that therefore, if they would transport themselves out of Spain, he would gratify himself, his officers, and even his soldiers, in such a manner, that they should have no reason to complain ¹. This proposition, being known, discouraged the troops of the enemy to such a degree, that the patrician found his closing with the king's offers was not only the wisest, but the single measure which was left for him to take ; so that the evacuation of the country was settled by a kind of convention, and Suintila, as he had A.D. 624. promised, made the patrician and all his dependents an ample compensation for what they left behind, esteeming it a cheap purchase, since, upon their departure, he became sole monarch of all Spain, an honour which none of the kings of the Visigoths had hitherto attained ².

The reputation acquired by this conquest facilitated the only great point Suintila had now in view, which was, procuring the consent of the nobility for associating his son Ricimer in the government ¹, an aim, however difficult in its nature, that he accomplished with so much ease, as proved the means of rendering it altogether in-

¹ *Ibid.* Hist. Goth.

² *Fredeg. in Chron. Aimon.*

¹ *Ibid.*

Hist. Goth.

effectual (F): for such is the unhappy disposition of some minds, that, though equal to every difficulty and danger, they are easily seduced by prosperity. As if, the reward of his virtues being obtained, they were of no farther use, Suintila almost at once threw off the character of a gracious prince, to put on that of an oppressive tyrant.

A. D. 626.

Seduced by the evil counsels of his queen, and his brother Geilan, he grew haughty, voluptuous, and avaricious, treated the nobility with contempt, exercised the most unjustifiable acts of cruelty on all who testified their dislike of his proceedings, and levied such prodigious taxes, as diffused universal poverty and discontent through all the provinces under his dominion. This conduct in a short time disposed every thing for that revolution which afterwards happened; for a prince, who has once lost the hearts of his subjects, is in the power of every accident, and the murmurs of the commons naturally inspire the grandes with thoughts of turning them to their own advantage, more especially in elective monarchies, where the voice of the people conveys or confirms a title.

An insurrection against him.

The provinces belonging to the Visigoths in Gaul were then governed by Sisenand, a person of great distinction, who, with considerable talents, had an ambition that surpassed all bounds. He was quickly informed of that amazing change which had happened in the behaviour and temper of the king his master, which put him upon forming intrigues that might conduct him safely to the throne^m. He had various correspondences in Spain; but the knowledge his friends had of the martial disposition and great military talents of Suintila, made them unwilling to ha-

^m Fredeg. in Chron.

(F) With this great event, the learned and pious Isidore, metropolitan of Seville, concludes his history of the Goths, though he did not entirely finish and digest it in writing till the year after. It is very apparent, that he had a tender regard, as well as a profound respect, for king Suintila and his family, to whom some think that he was nearly related: whether that be so or not, we

have good reason to conclude, that it proceeded from this disposition in their favour he declined recording what passed from the time of this event, since he not only survived more than ten years, but presided also in the fourth council of Toledo, and was obliged to take a share in many other public affairs during that space (1).

(1) Cav. Hist. liter. tom. i. p. 547.

zard

zard a revolt, unless they could be secure of some support. In order to procure this, Sisenand applied himself to Dagobert, king of France, a prince who, amongst other foibles, was strangely delighted with a glaring and preposterous magnificence, to whom he promised a fountain of solid gold, exquisitely wrought, of the weight of fifty pounds, which Aetius the Roman general had presented to Torismond, king of the Visigoths, as a monument of gratitude for that service which he had rendered the Roman empire^a (G). Dagobert listened to his request; and, having ordered the troops he had in Burgundy, under the command of Abondantius, to join those that were already about Thoulouse, under Venerand, he directed them to assist Sisenand in his irruption into Spain^c. Suintila had early intelligence of this revolt; and, having put himself at the head of his army, arrived within a few days march of Saragossa, about the time that Sisenand took possession of the place. Next morning, when he was about to make the necessary dispositions for a general engagement, he was surprised to hear Sisenand proclaimed king of the Visigoths in his own camp, with the unanimous acclamations of his soldiers, and that nobody was more active therein than his brother Geilan^d. He was convinced that resistance was vain; and therefore, giving his crown for lost, withdrew as privately as possible, in order to save his life. Sisenand arrived in a few hours in the camp, where he was joyfully received; and, having regaled Abondantius and Tenerand with splendid and costly presents, they repassed the Pyrenees with their forces, at the same time that he prosecuted his march to Toledo, where he made his en-

A. D. 631.

^a Aimon.
Historia de Hispana, p. iii. sect. 7.

^c Fredeg. in Chron.

^d Ferreras,

(G) This fountain, or basin of gold, for it is not very clear which it was, was the present of that celebrated Roman general Aetius, to Torismond, king of the Visigoths, upon the signal and decisive victory gained by their assistance, and with the loss of that monarch's father, over the fa-

mous Attila and his Huns, in the neighbourhood of Metz, anno Domini 451; so that it had been above a hundred and seventy years preserved amongst the treasures of the Goths, and, exclusive of its intrinsic value, was looked upon as a master-piece in point of workmanship (1).

(1) Prosper. Idat. Jornandes.

try in triumph, and was publicly proclaimed king, to the general satisfaction of the whole nation.

A. D. 632.

*Sifenand
raised to
the throne
by the as-
sistance of
the Franks.*

Sifenand was scarce seated on the throne, before Dagobert sent Amalgarus and Venerand, as his ambassadors, to compliment him upon his accession, and to put him in mind of the gold fountain¹. The king received them with all possible marks of honour, and gave orders that the fountain should be delivered to them, agreeable to his promise; but the Goths, who saw this alienation with inexpressible regret, surprised them in their passage home, and recovered this monument of the courage and generosity of their ancestors². Dagobert was not slow in complaining, and demanding satisfaction from Sifenand, who told them, it was not in his power to deliver them the fountain a second time; but if king Dagobert would be content with the value of it in money, he would discharge the obligation he was under with the greatest punctuality; and, this offer being accepted, the money was paid. While this affair was upon the carpet, it created some murmuring, as is natural, amongst a free people, when they conceive the public welfare sacrificed to the particular interests of the prince; and this afforded Geilan a fresh opportunity of discovering the baseness of his disposition, by endeavouring to raise an insurrection against the prince whom he had helped to set upon the throne; but he was generally known, and as generally condemned, so that his insinuations only produced his own ruin; for, being stripped of all his employments, and his estates confiscated, he passed the remainder of his life in as low a condition as his infamous behaviour deserved, equally unassisted and unpitied³.

*A council
summoned
at Toledo.*

In the third year of his reign, Sifenand summoned the fourth council of Toledo, in which Isidore, metropolitan of Seville, presided, and in which sixty-nine prelates were present, either by themselves or by their vicars. In this great assembly there were seventy-five canons made, the last of which was very remarkable, for by it the people were enjoined to keep the faith they had sworn to their monarch, and to defend his authority and person to the utmost, under pain of excommunication. It was also enacted, that, upon the demise of the king, the bishops and great men should be called together, in order

A. D. 633.

¹ P. Daniel, Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 490.
in Chronic.

² Ferreras.

³ Fredeg.

to proceed to a new election. The bishops also gave the king a great deal of good advice, and more especially desired that his majesty would be pleased to revise all criminal sentences, and not put the parties to death till their offences were thoroughly proved, and the nature of them closely examined. In reference to Suintila and his children, they were declared incapable of any public office, and all their goods and estates confiscated, except what the king should, in his private capacity, be pleased to bestow upon them for their subsistence; the traitor Geilan was put under the like incapacities: so that, notwithstanding the silence of ancient historians, the deposing this monarch appears to be fully proved from public records. Perhaps the writers of those times were unwilling to convey the history of their troubles, and the failings of one who had been formerly so good a prince, to posterity; neither is it at all impossible that personal gratitude for favours received might in some measure impose this silence, which however cannot furnish any argument against what is preserved in the registers of the council, where it is very likely some concurred in doing what they had no inclination succeeding times should learn, in any other manner than as it is expressed in the canon^t.

We may easily conceive, though nothing of that kind can appear in their proceedings, that there must have been some discordance in the sentiments of so numerous an assembly, considering more especially what important and tender affairs fell under their deliberations. But we should not have troubled the reader with any conjecture on this head, if it was not necessary to give some rational account of two strange facts that are said to have happened under this short reign. It is reported, that one Geroncius, a priest, presuming on the favour in which he stood with this king, behaved towards Justus, metropolitan of Toledo, with indecency, and even with insolence, which the good prelate bore for a long time with patience, till on a sudden the priest lost his senses, and continued in a state of idiotism till his death, which in those days was regarded as a judgment^u. The other event, still more tragical, regards the same metropolitan of Toledo, who was an austere morose man, and so generally disagreeable

A. D. 635.

^t Conc. tom. v. p. 1700. Card. d'Aguirre, tom. ii. p. 477.

^u Ildefons de Script. in Præfat.

to his clergy, that they made bold to strangle him in his bed. Such transactions must be referred to the factious disturbances of the times, and the story of the first dispute ought to be regarded as a key to the second ^w. King Sisenand did not long survive, and, for aught that appears, died a natural death, in the month of March, and in the year 636, when he had reigned somewhat more than five years ^x.

A. D. 636.

Chintila becomes monarch of all Spain, and calls a council at Toledo.

Upon his demise, there happened some disputes which retarded the election of his successor; however, in the ensuing months, Chintila was raised to the throne, who began his reign by calling a council at Toledo, for regulating affairs in church and state. This council did not sit long, and made but eight canons, all of which, except the first, respected the civil government. They declared, that whoever was wanting in loyalty and duty to the king, should be excommunicated: that whoever, without requisite talents for government, or being descended of the illustrious blood of the Goths, should aspire to the crown, should incur the same penalty: that all such persons as during the life of the king, should inquire after the time of his decease, or should pray for it, in hopes of succeeding him, should be likewise excommunicated: that those should incur the same penalty who cursed the king, or practised witchcraft against him: those on whom the king bestowed recompences of any kind, for their good and faithful services, should enjoy them peaceably, as an encouragement to others to behave in the like manner: that, in all ensuing councils, the canons made in the preceding council of Toledo, for supporting the respect due to the royal authority, should be read, that none might pretend ignorance of them: and, lastly, that the king might mitigate or remit whatever sentences were passed upon criminals, if he thought proper. These laws will serve to give us a just idea of the government of the Visigoths, which was far from being arbitrary. On the first of July, in the first year of his reign, the king published an edict, directing the public days of humiliation to be strictly observed, and for enforcing the other decrees made by the council ^v.

A. D. 638.

The whole nation of the Jews expelled his dominions by an edict.

The most remarkable transaction in this prince's reign was the expulsion of the Jews out of his dominions, in virtue of an edict, by which he declared, that his subjects

^w Historia Hispana, lib. vi. cap. 5.
^v an. Chron. ^v Valsei Chron.

^x Ibid. Pacens. Juli.

and foldiers should be all of them Christians; but whether the Jews gave any particular cause for this severity, or whether it arose only from the general odium they lay under; and the desire the king had to render himself popular by treating them in this manner, is uncertain. In the sixth council of Toledo, which met not long after they were driven out, he received the compliments of that assembly upon this subject, and laws were made to support what he had done. In this, as in the former council, many points, relating purely to civil government, were settled in such a manner, as plainly evinces, that great animosities and heart-burnings still subsisted amongst the people, which induced an apprehension that every future vacancy of the throne would be considered as a kind of dissolution of the government, against which they provided all the remedies that human prudence could dictate * (N). At the close of the assembly, they returned the

* Conc. tom. v. p. 1740. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 512.

(N) By the third canon of this sixth council of Toledo, the prelates and other members of that venerable assembly, not only approved, and rendered thanks to the king for what he had done against the Jews, but likewise enacted, with his consent, and that of the nobles (a clear proof that these assemblies were really parliaments), that no monarch thereafter elected should enter upon the functions of the regal office, before he promised, under pain of excommunication, to adhere inviolably to the laws made against that nation. They provided, in this assembly, that persons accused of capital crimes should not be condemned till they were heard face to face with their accusers; and, for want of legal evidence, the party accused to be acquitted, except the matter charged upon him touched the king's life. Such as deserted to the ene-

mies of the kingdom, and endeavoured to stir up war against their country, were to be excommunicated. Such as broke their allegiance, and afterwards fell into the king's power, were to be shut up in a monastery for life, if they made it their choice, in some measure equivalent to their claiming the benefit of the clergy with us. The highest respect and veneration was to be paid to the nobility having places at court, and about the king's person, so long as they behaved with justice, moderation, and beneficence, to their inferiors. Whatever rewards in lands, or otherwise, the king should bestow on his faithful subjects, they were to enjoy; and such as entered into conspiracies were to forfeit all they had, even though their treasons should not be discovered till after the death of their king. In consideration of the

the king thanks for his mild and just administration, recommended him to the Divine protection, and made vows for his long life and prosperity^h. He continued to govern with the same spirit of moderation and equity during the short remainder of his life, and deceased in the beginning of the year 640, universally regretted by his subjects, who enjoyed uninterrupted peace at home and abroad during the time that he sat upon the throneⁱ.

A. D. 640.

*His son
Tulga suc-
ceeds, but is
very soon
deposed.*

The great reverence that was borne to the memory of the deceased king, engaged the nobility, in compliance with

^h Concil. Tolet. vi. Can. iii.

ⁱ Isid. Pacens.

benefits conferred by king Chintila upon his subjects, the greatest respect should be preserved towards his children, and care taken to defend them in their persons and in their properties, there being nothing, says this canon, more equitable, than that the same regard should be shewn by the nation to the posterity of kings, that those kings, while upon the throne, manifested for the nation. If any, possessed either of an ecclesiastical or secular dignity, should enter into any intrigues during the lifetime of the king, in order to secure the election of some other person upon his demise, he was excommunicated. When the throne was vacant, none should tyrannically usurp it, but wait the decision of a free election; and none should be capable of being elected who had taken a religious habit, and suffered his head to be shaven, or who had been shaven by force, or who should descend from slaves or strangers; but the person so elected should be one descended from the il-

lustrious blood of the Goths, and endowed with prudence, and the necessary talents of government. Whoever should infringe this decree, incurred thereby the penalty of excommunication. * All that was therefore done for the security of the life and august persons of the kings of the Visigoths, was hereby confirmed; and the censure of excommunication pronounced, in the presence of God, his angels and saints, of the church, and of all the faithful, against all who should attempt the king's life, endeavour to dethrone, or assemble troops to make war against him. If any prince be slain, his successor should avenge his death, as he would do that of his father, in which he should have the assistance of all the nobility, and of persons of every rank, who would not be held and reputed infamous by the whole nation. These canons fixed the constitutions, and were regarded as the magna charta of the Visigoths in Spain, so long as their monarchy in that country subsisted (1).

(1) Isidor. Pacens. Fredeg. in Chron. Luc. Tudens. Roderic. Tolet. Vazari Chron.

the unanimous voice of the people, to raise his son Tulga to the throne. Though he was very young, he inherited from his father his piety and his charity, with many other virtues ^k; but the tenderness of his age, and want of experience, enervated his authority, insomuch that many, despising his youth, or presuming too much upon his indulgence and good-nature, took such liberties as were inconsistent with the respect due to government. As bad examples are naturally contagious, in a little time the whole kingdom was full of disorders, notwithstanding the young monarch was remarkably free from vices, and had no other failing than that want of firmness and steadiness which was incident to a good-natured youth. The principal nobility being persuaded that these dangerous mischiefs would continue to increase while Tulga remained upon the throne, and might prove the ruin of the nation before he acquired the talents necessary to correct them, concluded, that, for the preservation of the state, he ought to be deposed. Having digested this scheme in their minds, they cast their eyes upon Chindasuintho, a person of great quality, much advanced in years, who possessed, as they conceived, in a very high degree, the virtues requisite to form a very great prince, as well as to put an end to those disorders that otherwise threatened an extinction of their monarchy. Chindasuintho, old as he was, made no difficulty of accepting the proposal; and, with the assistance of his party, executed it with very little trouble, causing the young king to be conducted to a monastery, where his head was shaved ^l.

Chindasuintho was declared king in the month of May 642; but was very far from enjoying peaceably that dignity, which he had rather seized by force than attained in a legal manner. A civil war ensued, and revolts happened in almost all parts of the kingdom ^m. But Chindasuintho fully justified the sentiments of those who placed him on the throne; he very quickly raised an army, and pursued those who disputed his authority with such vigour, that, before the government was tolerably settled, two hundred persons of quality, and five hundred of meaner rank, lost their lives; at length, however, he carried his point, and obliged all the inhabitants of Spain to own and respect

Chindasuintho maintained by force his title to the crown of Spain.

^k Mariana, *Historia Hispana*, lib. v. cap. 8. Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras, *Historia de Hispana*, part. iii. sect. 7. ^l Fiedeg. in Chron. ^m Mariana, *Historia Hispana*, lib. vi. cap. 8. Mayerne Turquet. Ferreras, *Historia de Hispana*, part. iii. sect. 7.

him as their sovereign ⁿ. About this time there arrived in Spain a young adventurer from the East, called Ardabasta, who was graciously received, and kindly entertained, by the king of the Visigoths; and rose at length so high in his favour, that he gave him in marriage his cousin-german. We are not told by the old historians who this young man was, whose posterity afterwards ascended the throne; but some of the ablest judges of Spanish history have rendered it highly probable, that he was the son of Athanagilde, the grandson of Hermenigilde, and the great-grandson of Leovigilde ^o. Whoever he was, he became equally the favourite of the king and of the people, and contributed not a little to dispose the public to a more favourable construction of Chindasuintho's conduct, who, setting aside the manner in which he acquired the diadem, was very little inferior in virtue or abilities to any who had worn it before him.

*A council
at Toledo,
which settles the
constitution
in church
and state.*

In the sixth year of his reign he held a council at Toledo, in which several canons were made, the first of which was in support of the king's authority, and for punishing, by excommunication for life, and forfeiture of goods, such as should procure arms or assistance from abroad, in support of their rebellion. The king's administration from this time was very peaceable, and no less honourable; for after the severities which the civil war obliged him to exercise, he did not discover any thing harsh in his disposition, but, on the contrary, behaved with great mildness and moderation; so that by degrees he became respected and beloved by all ranks of people; as a proof of which affection, in the seventh year of his reign, the nobility unanimously consented that his son Recesuintho should share with him, in order to lessen the weight of the regal authority ^p. This expedient had not hitherto been very fortunate to the monarchs who had brought it to bear; but the old king considering that his son was of a fit age to ascend the throne, that it would be difficult for him to be safe as a private man, upon mature deliberation, demanded and obtained this act of complaisance from the nobles; in consequence of which Recesuintho was placed with his father on the throne ^q, January the 22d, 649; and from that time took upon him, in a great measure, the administration of the government.

ⁿ Fredeg. in Chron.

^o Pellicer, Salas.

^p Isidor.

^q Fer. Hist. Hispan. part. iii. sect. 7.

The old king, worn out with age and infirmities, was desirous of passing his last days in peace, and with a reasonable degree of leisure. He was a great statesman, understood the constitution of the Visigoths perfectly, and took pains to restore and preserve its vigour ^r. He was, the times in which he lived considered, a man of letters, and so great a lover of learning and learned men, that he sent Tajus, or Tajon, bishop of Saragossa, to Rome, on purpose to bring from thence certain works of pope Gregory the Great, which as yet had not been sent into Spain ^s. He was no less remarkable for his piety, according to the notion of those times; and is reported to have built the magnificent monastery of St. Romanus, now called the monastery of Ornisga, between Toro and Tordeuillas, not far from the river Duero, where he desired that his own and his queen's corpse might be laid, as it is believed they were ^t. He died with great marks of sincere repentance, and after having caused very large sums to be distributed to the poor ^u, October the first, in the year 652, when he was upwards of ninety years of age, and in the eleventh year of his reign.

The king, with their consent, associates his son in the administration.

We have thrown together all that regarded Chindasuintho, that we might not perplex the relation of what was achieved by Recesuintho, as well in the life-time of his father as afterwards. It is believed, upon good foundation, that this prince, a little before his association in the throne, married his consort Ricibergue, and was much assisted in compassing that point by her relations. Notwithstanding this success, a great many malecontents were exceedingly displeased with this measure, and inclined to pull Recesuintho down before he was well seated on the throne. The want of a free election was given out, with many other pretences, by such as were desirous of dethroning him; but the truth of the matter was, that the principal persons of the faction, who honoured his father with the crown, took it extremely ill that they were disappointed in their views, and all their hopes cut short, by this association; whereas, with them, the chief motive to the king's exaltation was his great age, which gave them a probability of surviving and succeeding him in their turns. It does not however appear, that they declared openly at the time of the election, but waited for a more proper conjuncture, when the disposition of the common people in

^r Rod. Toletan. lib. ii. ubi supra.

^s Isidor. Pacensis Jul. Tolet. Fredeg. in Chron.

^t Fer.

the more distant provinces should be known; for having been treated with severity in the beginning of the old king's reign, it was presumed that they would not be universally pleased with this measure. Time made it appear they were in their conjectures not at all mistaken.

Amongst these malcontents was one Froja, a man of great quality among the Goths, rich and powerful. He was the first who took up arms, and, for the better support of his party, employed his money among the Gascons to raise an army. These people, who had been frightened into submission by Suintila, were very glad of this opportunity to find their way once more into Spain. As soon as they had passed the Pyrenees under his command, they began to shew their old disposition, desolating the country with fire and sword, ruining edifices of all kinds, churches and monasteries not excepted, and destroying without mercy persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages. In the midst of their career, Recesuintho fell upon them with a small but well-disciplined army; and though the victory was not gained without a considerable loss, yet the king pursued it with such vigour, that the rebels were entirely defeated^w. Froja fled with a small party, and the Gascons suffered so much, that they repassed the Pyrenees, and thought themselves happy in regaining their own country. But notwithstanding this blow, many cities and provinces discovered visible signs of discontent, and made preparations for their own defence, in case the new king should endeavour to reduce them with his victorious army. But those who were not frightened with the terror of his arms, he reduced by his clemency; for having declared that he was willing, and even desirous, to redress grievances, and to grant whatever could be justly expected, they consented, upon his publishing a general amnesty, to submit, and to acknowledge him for their sovereign. But what became of Froja does not appear from the Spanish history.

Recesuintho triumphs over his enemies by arms, over the rebels by moderation.

Things were in this situation when the old king died, and Recesuintho, than whom no prince was more punctual in the performance of his promises, summoned a council at Toledo, in order to settle the affairs of the kingdom. It was opened on the 17th of December, 653, and consisted of a multitude of prelates, and all the chief persons of the kingdom. The king opened this assembly of the states by a short speech, conceived only in general terms,

^w Fer. ubi supra.

and referring himself for farther particulars to a memorial which he left with them in writing. This paper contained, first, a confession of the catholic faith; next, a request that the assembly would give their opinion in respect to those who had taken up arms against the crown and the state, on account of the oath which the whole nation had entered into for excluding such offenders from all hopes of pardon; which, however, the king, in the present case, was willing to grant. In the third place, he desired that where the subjects complained, with respect and decency of the sovereign, arbitrators might be appointed by law to decide equally between them. He recommended it to the nobility to concur in judgment with the prelates, and to execute punctually the canons that should be made. Lastly, he desired to know their sentiments with respect to the Jews, who, after baptism, had apostatized. This august assembly not only settled these, but several other points of very high importance, to the entire satisfaction of the king, and of his subjects; and their canons, twelve in number, were signed not only by the bishops and abbots, but by the great men that were present^z. The day after the council separated, the king published an edict, grounded upon their advice, by which he declared, that whatever estates or effects were acquired by monarchs after their accession to the throne, should be annexed to the crown, and belong to their successors; but that, with respect to their private fortunes, they should descend to their children^y. In this edict he farther declared, that whereas he was in possession of his father Chindasuintho's estates, he was ready to make satisfaction in the most ample manner to any who could make due proof of their having been oppressed or injured by that prince^z.

The reign of Recesuintho, from this time, was perfectly calm and undisturbed. His subjects, in general, began to understand, and be perfectly sensible of their happiness in living under a prince who made that much more his study than his own. The clergy were wholly devoted to his service, and, in points of the highest consequence, had recourse to his authority, without applying themselves to the bishop of Rome. The Jews, who were indeed the only people the king was disposed to treat with severity, pacified him by a memorial, in which they qualified what was styled their apostacy, by declaring, in the

^x Conc. viii. Tolet. can. ult.^y Ferr.^z Vafæi Chron.

most solemn manner, that it consisted not in any unbelief, but in a natural aversion to pork; desiring that the king would be pleased to excuse them in that respect, since it proceeded not from any repugnancy of their will, but from the imbecility of their stomachs, which would not bear a food they from their infancy had been taught to abhor; submitting to be burnt, if, in any other respect, they behaved otherwise than as became good Christians; with which this well-disposed monarch seems to have been contented^a. Some corruptions having crept into the morals of the people, and into the discipline of the ecclesiastics, he corrected these by the advice of two councils held at Toledo; for which he was highly applauded by the nobility and prelates, who found the good effects of these frequent assemblies, which brought the kingdom in general into very good order, and took away many abuses that would have been otherwise fortified by prescription^b.

A. D.
655, 656.

That happy spirit of loyalty and general tranquillity that reigned throughout the kingdom, induced the brethren and family of the king, who was now become a widower, to insinuate that this was a proper time to do something for them; but the king, it seems, was of a different opinion, either from a persuasion that his relations wanted the proper talents for government, or that he was unwilling to disoblige the whole body of the nobility, by depriving them of that privilege which they had most at heart^c. He had, however, in the midst of this repose at home, a melancholy, and even an alarming prospect abroad; for the Saracens began to extend their conquests in Africa; and count Gregory, who was governor of the province of Carthage; having endeavoured to give a check to this progress with the best army it was in his power to raise, was not only defeated, with the loss of a great part of his forces, but likewise fell himself in battle^d. Some assert, that the infidels pushed their incursions as far as Mauritania, then in the hands of the Goths, an invasion which obliged king Reccsuintho to arm in its defence; but the best writers are silent upon this subject, and therefore the fact ought to be concluded doubtful, if not false^e. However, the king could not be without apprehensions from the vicinity of such neighbours, which, with the

^a Fuero Juzgo, lib. xii. tit. 2. l. 16. ^b Conc. tom. vi. p. 451.
 Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 573 Conc. tom. vi. p. 459. Card. d'Aguire,
 Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 574. ^c Mar. Hist. Hispana, lib. vi. cap.
 viii. Mayerne Turq. Fer. ubi supra. ^d Isid. Pacens. ^e Rod.
 Toletan.

weight of his other affairs, brought him into a bad state of health: in hopes of recovering, he made a journey to a place called Gerticos, in the territory of Salamanca, at the distance of forty leagues from Toledo, which was his private patrimony, and perhaps the town where he was born; and there, his distemper being too hard for the skill of the physicians, he died September 1, 672, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, to the great and just sorrow of his subjects.

As soon as king Recesuintho had breathed his last, the bishops and great lords of the court assembled; and being sensible how much the nation might suffer through the want of talents, if that should happen in the successor of so great and good a prince, unanimously cast their eyes upon Wamba, a nobleman whose years, whose virtues, and whose great experience in the most arduous public employments, left them nothing in that respect to fear. A new difficulty arose, however, which they had not foreseen; for he not only laboured to decline the honour, but, when he found that this was in vain, declared positively, that he knew himself best, and therefore would not accept the crown. This refusal threw the assembly into much perplexity, till one of the lords laid his hand upon his sword, and, addressing himself to Wamba, told him, that, in their choice of him, they were guided by no private motives, but aimed solely at the public good; that his behaviour was of a very different nature, since it shewed that he preferred his own quiet, and the pleasures of an independent life, to the welfare of his country; that he, who would not contribute, as far as in him lay, to the preservation of the state, was as guilty as he who contrived its ruin; and therefore, if he continued to prefer an indolent security to the cares of a crown, which the public interest, and the legal call of those present, required him to wear, he would sacrifice him upon the spot. The menaces of this nobleman, and the tears of all who were present, overcame the constancy of Wamba, who consented to be declared king, but desired they would remember he never sought it; that it was a dignity forced upon him, in which his ambition had no share. He farther desired, that his coronation might be respited, till it should appear that their choice was the sense of the whole nation^f. On his return to Toledo, he was solemnly anointed and crowned on the 19th September, 672, in the church of

*Wamba
succeeds by
election to
the throne
of the Visi-
goths.*

^f Luc. Tudens.

*Insurrec-
tions of the
Gascons.*

St. Peter and St. Paul, with the universal acclamations of the nobility and people, and, as many historians assert, with a very miraculous instance of the divine favour ^g.

The Gascons, according to custom, made an irruption, under pretence that they were too heavily taxed; and their neighbours, the inhabitants of the country of Asturias, made an insurrection under the like pretence. The king was no sooner informed of this, than he disposed every thing for the immediate reduction of the rebels; but his army was scarce in motion, before he had intelligence of a more formidable revolt. Hilderic, count of Nimes, apprehended he had a fair opportunity of rendering himself independent, and master of all the territories the Goths possessed in France. He was confirmed in these notions by two of the most popular ecclesiastics, Guimilde, bishop of Maquelone, and the abbot Ranimir, by whose assistance he soon drew over the populace, and found afterwards no great difficulty in corrupting the troops; but, in this defection, Areges, bishop of Nimes, remained inflexible, and gave the conspirators so much trouble, that they sent him into France loaded with chains; and, that they might not be without a bishop, Ranimir was put in possession of that see ^h. The king being informed that the whole province had departed from its duty, made choice of count Paul, an old and experienced officer, and sent him at the head of the best part of his troops against these new rebels. When this general had advanced into the province of Tarragona, he consulted with duke Ranosinde and the warden Hildigise, who were intrusted with the government there, whether it would not be better for him to set up for himself, and to assume the title of king, as soon as he was master of Narbonne; in which wicked design, upon the promise of great advantages and preferment for themselves, they confirmed him by many arguments, and raised, to augment his army, the whole force of the province, under colour of the king's orders ⁱ (O).

On

^g Julian, Hist. de Wambæ Exedit.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ Luc. Tudens.

(O) The reader will easily discern that there is no part of this history so clearly, so circumstantially, and with so much certainty, related as this, upon which we are now entering. The reason is, that a

complete narrative of this remarkable rebellion was written by the prelate, who is sometimes called in Latin, Julianus, sometimes Pomerius, who, A. D. 680, succeeded Quiricus in the metropolitan see of Toledo,

On his approach to Narbonne, though he kept his design as secret as possible, Argebaud, bishop of that city, had some suspicion of his intentions, and gave orders for shutting the gates against him; but these orders were not obeyed; and count Paul, after he was admitted into the place, reprimanded him for giving them very severely^k. The bishop submitted, because it was not in his power to do otherwise, but gave the king privately an account of all that had happened. Count Paul acted with great subtlety and address: he represented Wamba as old, peevish, cruel, and altogether unworthy of the title he assumed. He pretended to be extremely affected at the miseries that were fallen upon his country. In a great assembly of the officers and principal inhabitants, he gave it as his opinion, that nothing could contribute so much to restore the public tranquillity as their making choice of some proper person to be king; a step with which he had reason to believe that count Hilderic would be very well pleased^l. Ranosinde and Hildigise insinuated, in the mean time, to those who were near them, that Paul himself, on account of his birth, his wealth, and his great military experience, was the only person worthy of the crown; upon which they saluted him king, and soon after placed on his head a crown, which king Reccared the Catholic had dedicated in one of the churches. In this strange election Hilderic thought fit to acquiesce; and the Franks, as their interest directed them, not only suffered Paul to raise men amongst them, but promised likewise to be his faithful allies, and to furnish him with auxiliaries whenever he thought it necessary. The inhabitants of the country of Catalonia likewise embraced his party; upon which he gave orders for fortifying several places that were important from their situation, and to occupy the chief passes of the mountains, while he laboured to assemble a regular army, capable of supporting him in his usurpation.

*General
Paul re-
volts.*

King Wamba, on the other hand, halted on the frontiers of Navarre, and, having called a council of his chief officers, laid before him the accounts that he had received, and demanded their advice. Some were for proceeding

*Wamba re-
duces Na-
varre and
Catalonia.*

* Julian. Hist. de Wambæ Expedit. ^l Rod. Toletan. lib. iii.

Toledo, and, whose testimony therefore is, in this respect, beyond exception, as he was perfectly capable of treating this subject as it ought to be, and wrote of nothing but what fell under his own immediate observation,

with

with the troops ; others thought it better for the king to return to Toledo, in order to assemble an army suitable to the danger, and to the great force of his enemies ^m. Wamba, who was an old general, had probably taken his resolution before he told them, that when he accepted the crown, he resolved to act as became a king ; and that he could not think it consistent with his dignity to turn his back to traitors ; that therefore he would first reduce the Gascons, and then pass the Pyrenees ⁿ. At the same time he gave orders, that all the forces in the adjacent provinces should march to the posts he assigned, and directed his fleet to repair to the coast of France, in order to wait the arrival of himself and his army. When he had taken these precautions, he entered Navarre, laid the country waste on every side, and struck such terror into the inhabitants, that, abandoning all sort of defence, they threw themselves upon his clemency. Wamba told them, that the devastation he had made was the proper recompence of rebellion ; and that, since they had altered their conduct, they had nothing farther to fear from him ; but that, since they were in arms, he would take them into his service. His army thus recruited, he obliged to observe the most exact discipline, and marched with such diligence, that he appeared before Barcelona when he was little expected. The bishop of Gironne caused the gates of that strong city also to be thrown open, and presented the king with the keys, and with a letter from Paul to himself, directing him to give possession of the city to which king should first appear ; at which presumption Wamba smiled.

*The royal
army in-
vests Nar-
bonne.*

His forces and his fleet having exactly obeyed his orders, he found himself in a condition to prosecute that war for which the rebels thought him only preparing. After three days repose, he divided his army into four bodies, and directed them to pass the Pyrenees by three different routes, himself at the head of the fourth division, following that which marched along the coast. His generals executed his commands punctually and successfully. In one place only they found a good fort, and a strong-garrison, which they attacked, and, after a vigorous defence, took by storm. Here was duke Ranosinde, with the warden Hildigise, whom they sent to the king with their hands tied behind their backs. They advanced to Sardonia, where Witimir, whom Paul had made general of his forces, had a numerous garrison, and every thing requi-

^m Luc. Tudenf.

ⁿ Jul. ubi supra.

site for a good defence ; but as he judged it more advisable to retire in the night, to carry his master an account of the condition things were in, his troops presently submitted. The king, finding his army had entirely passed the mountains, assembled all his forces, halted two days, and, having made the same division as before, directed his generals to march with the utmost diligence to Narbonne; himself following with a small guard. They pursued his instructions, and quickly invested the place, from which Paul was retired to Nimes, leaving the command of all the troops to Witimir, who, being summoned to open the gates, returned a rude and insolent answer. The generals of Wamba, provoked at this behaviour, and perceiving that it had irritated the army to a degree of desperation, resolved to take the place by storm. Having proposed the assault to the troops, they assented with joy, and would have begun the attack immediately. The generals then made the necessary dispositions, and the royal army advanced on every side.

Witimir, and the rebels under his command, having no hopes left but in victory, since all expectations either of mercy or escape were equally vain, defended themselves with a degree of obstinacy that had been rarely seen, for about three hours ; but at length the king's forces having burnt some of the gates, and undermined part of the walls, entered the city on every side, and made a dreadful slaughter. Witimir, giving all for lost, withdrew with a handful of men into a church, in which they made a desperate resistance. One of the king's soldiers having stunned him with a beam, he was at last taken alive, with most of his principal officers ; and, after they had been scourged through the streets, they were next day sent prisoners to the king. After the reduction of Narbonne, the king, without much difficulty, obliged other cities and great towns to return to their obedience ; those who commanded in them retiring with their garrisons to Nimes, where the usurper Paul did every thing that an able officer could do to render the place strong, and to inspire his troops with resolution ; sometimes complimenting them on the fine appearance they made (for, in effect, he had the whole flower of the province with him) ; sometimes putting them in mind that the king's army was exceedingly weakened and fatigued ; and sometimes assuring them, that prodigious succours were in full march to their relief from France and Germany : by these and other arts he kept up their spirits so well, that they prepared cheerfully

for their defence ; and among other precautions, fortified the arena of the old Roman amphitheatre. In short, their industry was such as would have deserved praise in a better cause.

The king's forces, after the repose of a few days, appeared before the place in four distinct corps, each commanded by an experienced general, making in all about thirty thousand men, and, in a few hours, had completely invested the place. The besieged considered and despised them, as being themselves much more numerous, better armed, and better provided ; so that they proposed marching out and giving them battle ; but Paul suspecting an ambuscade, persuaded them to act on the defensive. The king's generals, animated by their past success, thought to carry the place by storm, and attacked it with great fury, but were repulsed with loss, and sent the king intelligence, that, without an immediate supply of fresh troops, they must be obliged to raise the siege. Wamba, who foresaw what might happen, had provided a body of ten thousand men, ready to march on the first notice ; who, as soon as they received his orders, began to move ; and, continuing their route all night, arrived next day as the army was about to renew the assault. The centinels on the towers of the city gave notice to Paul of this reinforcement, which intimidated the garrison not a little. That usurper heard the news not only without emotion, but with a seeming air of satisfaction ; and, as he passed from post to post, encouraged his adherents, by telling them, that this was Wamba's last effort ; that they were now to fight with all their enemies at once, and that these being defeated, they had nothing farther to fear. Having thus revived their courage, the action began with great noise and and fury. The dispute lasted long ; but at length the French mercenaries in Paul's pay began to mutiny : they said, that defence was in vain ; that the place once taken, they should be all put to the sword ; and that there was no reason so many brave men should die in the cause of a base usurper. These murmurs created great confusion ; and the royal army laying hold of that advantage, mounted the walls with ladders, and began to enter the place on all sides : the rebels took it into their heads that they were betrayed by the Spaniards, whom they killed without mercy, and particularly two of the officers in whom Paul most confided. In this situation Paul thought proper to lay aside his crown and his purple robe, and retired with such forces as yet remained firm into the ancient

tient amphitheatre, where it was impossible they should be easily forced. The night brought on a cessation of arms, and the royal army contented themselves with taking quarters in all parts of the city, where they celebrated their victory, and the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne, which happened to be that very day. Things continued in this state for two days; and, on the third, they had notice of the king's approach with the rest of the army.

Paul and his associates, after mature deliberation, deputed Argebaud, metropolitan of Narbonne, to implore Wamba's mercy. He met the king at some distance from the city, and executed his commission in so pathetic a manner, that he readily pardoned the whole body of malcontents, but would not hear of extending his clemency to Paul, and the chiefs of this dangerous rebellion. When he came in sight of the city, he found the army drawn up in order of battle, which having thanked for their services, he divided them into several corps, and ordered them to take post on the hills round the town, that they might be ready to oppose the Franks, in case they should attempt any thing in favour of their allies: but while the army were yet under arms, he ordered Paul and his companions to be summoned to come before him. They came accordingly, but in a dismal equipage: Paul was on foot, his cloaths torn, and his feet bare; a captain of the king's troops on each side, holding a lock of his hair. As soon as he saw the king, he went and knelt at his feet, at the same time cutting the military belt he wore, inflicting on himself that mark of degradation as a traitor. Wamba ordered him and his friends to be put under a strong guard, but dismissed the Franks, and other strangers that were with him, freely, and without ransom. The spoils that were taken he caused to be restored to the churches and private persons from whom they had been plundered, and directed also the breaches to be carefully repaired, and the dead bodies to be interred.

Sends Argebaud, archbishop of Narbonne, to implore Wamba's mercy.

The public tranquility being settled, the king, on the third day, ordered the whole army to be drawn out, and ranged on both sides of a tribunal, on which himself and the principal nobility of the Goths were seated; then he commanded Paul and his adherents to be brought before him. As soon as he appeared the king stood up, and asked him whether he had ever given him any offence, ever done him any injury, or shewn him any mark of displeasure? Paul answered, that the very contrary was true;

that he had always treated him with peculiar marks of favour; that he owed to his confidence the power of raising this rebellion, and that he had nothing to allege in excuse. Those who came with him made the like acknowledgement, and mentioned severally the obligations they were under to the king. On this their oaths of allegiance were read, and then the laws against treason; lastly, the judges stood up, and pronounced sentence of death; but the king a few minutes after, changed that sentence into their being shaved, and sent to several monasteries, where they might have time to repent of their offences^q. This was the issue of a rebellion that would have endangered the monarchy of the Visigoths, and proved fatal to a monarch of less prudence and less fortitude than Wamba possessed. He was also provoked by the incursions of one Lupus, a French general, who made an irruption for the sake of plunder. Wamba contented himself with obliging him to make a precipitate retreat, and, after the miseries to which they had been already subjected, would not expose his people to the danger of a foreign war^p.

A. D. 673.

*Wamba
enters his
capital in
triumph.*

He appointed new officers and new governors throughout the whole province, and put strong garrisons into all the fortresses. With the rest of his troops he repassed the Pyrenees, and continued his march directly towards Toledo, into which he made a pompous and triumphant entry, all the soldiers being new clothed, and their arms in perfect order^r. In the center of the troops were several waggons, in which were seated Paul and his captains and counsellors, all of them close shaved, with ragged cloaths and naked feet, and their chief with a dirty leathern crown upon his head. The king closed the procession, surrounded by the nobility, from whom he was distinguished by the majesty of his appearance, his silver hair flowing on his shoulders, and his brow bound with a diadem. The whole city rang with acclamations^r. The king having returned thanks to God for having restored peace to his people, dismissed his troops, and applied himself to the regulation of such disorders as time, accident, or corruption, had brought into church or state; for which task he was excellently qualified, being perfectly versed in their laws, and having nothing so much at heart as the interests of the kingdom^s. His first care was for Toledo, the capital of his dominions. He ordered the old city walls to

^q Julian, ubi supra.

^r Jul. ubi supra.

^p Rod. Tolet.

^s Rod. Tolet. lib. iiii.

^q Luc. Tudens.

be well repaired, and circumscribed even the suburbs with a new wall, which he adorned with the images of saints, and placed also certain inscriptions, which are still remembered, and are said to have been repaired and restored out of respect to their royal founder by king Philip II.

The king summoned two councils in the year 675, one of which was held at Braga, the other at Toledo, in which many canons were made, chiefly with a view to restore the discipline of the church, and to repress the luxury, pride, and superstition of the clergy. It is, however, worthy of our notice, that we find in neither of these councils the least footsteps of an affair of very great importance with respect to ecclesiastical government, which was nevertheless settled at this time[†]. The bishops, it seems, were some of them apt to encroach upon their neighbours dioceses, which occasioned much jealousy, strife, and disturbance; an application was therefore made to the king for the remedy of this grievance, which was effected by describing and setting out the limits of all the dioceses in Spain, which seems to have been done by a royal commission[‡]. We shall see that this did not, however, so wholly occupy his mind as to hinder him from providing for the safety of his subjects, and supporting the glory of his crown in another respect, of which we find little notice taken in the reign of his predecessors ¶ (P).

*Summons
two coun-
cils.*

The

† Ferr. Hist. Hispana, part iii. sect. vii.
¶ Vaf. Chron.

‡ Luc. Tudens.

(P) The regulating exactly ecclesiastical discipline in Spain, by a distinct description of the bishopricks, and placing them under their respective metropolitans, to whom Mariana always gives the title of archbishops, was one of the most remarkable acts of Wamba's administration; and an extract of this regulation may be found in the historian before mentioned, who compares it with another made in the time of Constantine the Great. It may be sufficient here to observe, that the six metropolitan sees were Toledo, Seville,

Merida, Braga, Tarragona, and Narbonne, the capital of that province, which the Goths still retained on the other side of the Pyrenees. What is principally to be observed in respect to this affair is, that the whole was done by the king's authority, without the least intimation to, or communication with the pope, or even the intervention or approbation of a council of Spanish bishops; so that it is clear, in things temporal, which the limitation of episcopal jurisdiction is allowed to be, the supremacy was acknowledged in the Go-

*A decisive
victory
gained
over the
Saracens.*

The Saracens, at that time, not only disturbed the continent with their armies, but harassed likewise the whole Mediterranean with their fleets, and were particularly troublesome on the coasts of Spain^x. The king, who had a good naval force, disposed of it in so judicious a manner, that the infidels finding themselves much curbed, assembled their whole power, that they might at once crush that of Spain^y. When they came to make the experiment, however, they found themselves mistaken; the skill of the Goths defending them from being oppressed by superior numbers, insomuch that, after a long and obstinate engagement, the Saracens were totally defeated, and lost two hundred and seventy vessels of all sizes^z. Some have thought this number excessive; but if we consider that they had no ships of great burthen, and reflect on the great number of men they sometimes transported, we need not be surpris'd at hearing of fleets of several hundred sail, because in those days, they had not ships of war, properly speaking, but employed in such expeditions almost every vessel that was fit to put to sea. This was a point of very great consequence, and very probably delayed for some time the disorders and distress to which the people of Spain were afterwards reduced, and from which they might always have been defended, if the successors of Wamba had resembled him in any thing, except the title.

*Deprived
of his king-
dom by
Erviga.*

While the thoughts of this great monarch were entirely taken up with arduous affairs of state, there was one near him, who employed his whole study how to remove him from the throne, and to seat himself in his place. This was Erviga, the son of Ardabastus, and, as is generally supposed, the great-grandson of Hermenigilde^a. He saw with displeasure, that through his temperance and constant exercise, Wamba, notwithstanding his great age, enjoyed a firm state of health; and he was not thoroughly assured, if he had patience even to his death, that, upon a full and free election, he should be chosen his successor.

A. D. 680. He framed, therefore, to carry his point, a plot very ingenious, though at the same time very base; for he gave a kind of intoxicating potion to the king, by which he was thrown into a senseless and stupefied condition, and

^x Marisot Orbis Mar. lib. ii. cap. 3.

^y Vaf. Chron.

^z Al-

phonf, Magn. Chron.

^a Isid. Pacenf.

thie kings in as large an extent as it hath been any where enjoyed, since the propagation of the Christian faith has been promoted and supported by civil authority.

while

while he was in this state, he caused him, according to the custom of those times, to be shaved, and put into a habit of penitence^b. The king, when he came to himself, dissembled his surprize, and the suspicion he entertained of the usage which he had received. He knew it was impossible, according to the laws, to resume his dignity; and preferring the peace of his subjects to every other consideration, he recommended, by a writing under his hand, Erviga for his successor, to prevent, what he saw plainly would otherwise have happened, a civil war. After this step he retired peaceably to a monastery, where he spent several years in a life of the strictest devotion (Q).

^b Alphonf. Magn. Chron. Luc. Tudenf. Roder. Tolet. lib. iii.

(Q) Some writers assure us, that this treason of Erviga was very far from being a hasty thought; and that, on the contrary, he had been before practising schemes less successful indeed, but not less villainous. In short, they ascribe to him the attempt made by the Moors, whom he solicited to come into Spain, in hopes of being put at the head of an army to oppose them, which might have facilitated his design upon the crown (1). After this miscarried he perceived that prince Theodofred, the younger brother of the late king Recefuintho, was now of a proper age to govern the kingdom, and had an interest amongst the nobility, at least equal, if not superior, to his own, which put him under insurmountable difficulties (2). It is asserted, that it was a piece of poisonous cane, soaked in the water he drank, that had this sad

effect; and that Julian, metropolitan of Toledó, was made the instrument of deposing king Wamba, without being at all privy to the design; for finding him, after the administration of the sacrament, totally without sense or voice, he consented to the shaving, and dressing him in a religious habit, as thinking it impossible he should recover.

The whole of this transaction happened on Sunday the 12th of October, and the very next day Erviga was declared king. Wamba recovered his senses in little more than twenty-four hours; and looking upon this as an admonition from heaven to bend his thoughts for the future to the concerns of another life, caused himself to be removed to the monastery of Pampliega, and left his successor to enjoy the splendor, and to struggle with the cares of a crown.

(1) Mariana Hist. Hispana, lib. vi. cap. 14.
Tudenf. Vafæi Chron.

(2) Lucas

Who succeeds him in the throne.

Erviga was declared king in virtue of Wamba's nomination, approved by the Gothic nobility, on Monday, October 16, in the year 680, and was anointed and crowned on Sunday the 22d of the same month, by Julian, metropolitan of Toledo. As, through the care of his predecessor, he found the affairs of Spain in very good order, so his accession was in every respect more peaceable, and more generally acquiesced in, than he could well have hoped; yet either some murmurings there were of the artifice by which Wamba had been removed, or the king's suspicions made him so uneasy, that he resolved to call a council to sanctify his title, and to make some laws which he thought might be beneficial to the state^c. This assembly was opened on the 9th of January in the succeeding year, and continued sitting till the 25th of the same month; in which space they made several canons or laws relative to civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs, very proper to quiet the minds of the people, and to make the crown sit light on the head of the new monarch^d (R). To render their endeavours

^c Conc. tom. vi. p. 1221. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 681. ^d Roderic Toletan. lib. iii.

(R) This twelfth council of Toledo was opened by a short speech made by the king, in which he told them, that his design of calling them together was, to engage them to confirm his title, and to make such other canons as they should think expedient, on the perusal of certain papers which he left with them (3). According to the king's desire, the first canon declared him the lawful monarch of the Goths, and, in support of his title, offered three reasons: the first, that king Wamba was shaved, and had taken the habit of a religious man during his sickness, so that he was incapable of resuming the crown; the second, that in the presence of the great lords of the court, and with their consent, Wamba had declared him his successor; and lastly, because Julian, metropolitan of Toledo, had made a strict enquiry into the legality of his election, before he proceeded to the ceremony of his coronation. By the second canon they forbade absolving from the vow of penitence, upon any pretence whatever, those who, during sickness, and even though deprived of their senses, had taken a religious habit; but enjoined them to satisfy precisely the vows which in that condition they had made. They suppressed the bishoprick of Aquis, which

(3) Conc. tom. vi. p. 1221. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 681. Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

had

deavours still more effectual, and to remove, if possible, the heart-burnings of Wamba's family, he gave that monarch's daughter Cixilona in marriage to Egiza, his nephew and heir; but notwithstanding all these precautions, and one cannot easily conceive how more could well be taken, a war broke out; but whether this happened through an irruption of the Gascons, by an insurrection in the Gallic province, or through an invasion of the Moors, we cannot determine^e. But this we know from the most authentic testimony, the positive declaration of the prelates and grandees in the next general council, that some great convulsion there was, and that the king Erviga had behaved therein with great courage and conduct, by which his subjects were again restored to peace, for which they offered him the tribute of their most grateful acknowledgements^f. A. D. 683.

As Erviga had a numerous family by his queen Luibigotona, and as he was very apprehensive of their safety in case of his demise, he laboured all that was in his power to gain the affections of his subjects. It was with this view that he meditated on every thing that could give the people disquiet or satisfaction, and studied all the means possible by which the one might be removed, and the other procured; believing, that whatever dislike or prejudice they might at first have conceived against him, they must be gradually removed by this conduct, and with well to a prince who made their happiness his chief study: to carry these his good intentions into execution, he held two other general councils in the course of his reign^g. By *Governs with prudence and public spirit.* A. D. 684.

a steady perseverance in this laudable course, he so far carried his point, that whatever distaste some great persons might have, they were obliged to conceal it, the clergy and greatest part of the nobility, and the common

^e Ibid. Pacens. Alphenf. Magn. Chron. Luc. Tudenf. ^f Conc. Tolet. lib. xiii. can. iv. ^g Roderic Tolet. lib. iii. Conc. tom. vi. p. 1253.

had been erected by king Wamba; they gave the metropolitan of Toledo leave to name, with the consent of the king, to the vacant bishopricks in Spain, or rather to consecrate such as were elected; they restored such as had been declared infamous, for not attending king Wamba in his expedition against the rebels in France; and they confirmed, renewed, and directed to be strictly put in force, all the laws made against the Jews; with several other canons relating to ecclesiastical discipline.

A. D. 686.

people in general, being well affected to his government. In his time, however, there happened a grievous famine, which was followed by an epidemic distemper that carried off great numbers of people ^b. The Jews also, encouraged by the lenity of this reign, began to behave with some degree of insolence, and to multiply exceedingly, so as to give the clergy great apprehensions; but the moderation of the king was so great, that it does not appear he was ever moved to treat them with any extraordinary degree of rigour ⁱ.

Resigns the crown in his life-time.

At length, after having worn a crown rather for the service of others than himself, and having every where procured more tranquility than in his own breast, the king found himself attacked by a disease that left him very little room to hope for recovery ^k. This induced him to set his affairs in order while there was yet time. He began with appointing Egiza, the nephew and heir of king Wamba, his successor, August 14, 687, having obliged him to swear he would do justice to all whom he might have inadvertently wronged. This step being taken, he sent for the nobility into his presence, released them from their oath of allegiance, ordered himself to be shaved, and dressed in a habit of penitence, by which means Egiza entered into the possession of the government, and soon after Erviga breathed his last, in the eighth year of his reign ^l. His predecessor Wamba, being still living in his convent, had the satisfaction of seeing this prince obliged to take for his own security that step into which he had betrayed him, and to place the crown, while he was yet living, upon the head of that very person for whom it had been designed by himself. He did not live long enough to see the untoward consequences that followed from this disposition of the crown, from the implacable resentment which the new king preserved against all who had the least share in that ill usage which the old monarch had sustained ^m (S).

A. D. 688.

We

^b Ifid. Pacenf. ^l Ferreras. ^k Julian. in Chron. ^l Alphonf. Magn. Chron. ^m Ferr. Hist. de Hispana, P. iii. sec. 7.

(S) This wise and religious monarch, after spending very near as much time in the privacy of a convent as in the pleasures of a palace, decessed at length, full of years and

glory, and with a high reputation for his virtue and sanctity, at Pampliega, the place of his retreat, and was buried in the church of that monastery; but Don Alphonso the Wise directed

We find no difficulty or disturbance made on the accession of Egiza, who, without doubt, was very acceptable to a great part of the nation, on account of the great reverence he always paid to his uncle Wamba, notwithstanding the alliance he had contracted with the family of the prince then upon the throne; but it is not at all probable, that, by the advice of the old monarch, he parted with his queen as soon as he found himself settled in the regal dignity, because there is no authentic proof of this event; and because, in the canons made by the councils held in his reign, there are many circumstances which render this suggestion very improbable, to which we may add his associating the only son he ever had by her in the government: but it is, nevertheless, very certain, that he was far enough from approving the measures of the last reign, and of this disapprobation we have authentic evidence in the scruples he proposed to the first council which was held at Toledo after his accession to the throne.

Egiza ascends the throne.

This assembly met on the 11th of May, 688. King Egiza, at his first entrance, saluted them, and, without desiring any confirmation of his title, said, that he had some scruples upon his mind which regarded the government of the kingdom, and which he had called them together to decideⁿ. These scruples regarded the oaths he had taken, which appeared to him contradictory. On the marriage of his queen, he had sworn, agreeable to a canon, to protect the widow of his predecessor, his children, his sons-in-law, and his daughters-in-law^o. At the time of his coronation he had sworn to do justice to all his subjects; and, as he was informed that the late king had degraded several of the nobility who were attached to king Wamba, and had deprived them of their estates illegally, which he had bestowed upon his family, he was at a loss to know how far he was bound by his first oath to protect the family of the deceased king against those who, in virtue of the second, demanded justice, and the restitution of those estates that had been inquitously taken from them. He assured them, that he was desirous of keeping both

Calls the fifteenth council of Toledo.

ⁿ Aët. Concil. Tolet. xv. ubi supra.
na P. iii. sec. 7.

^o Ferreras, Hist. Hispan.

rected his body, as well as his predecessor king Recesuintho, to be taken up, and brought to Toledo (1).

(1) Isid. Pacens. Luc. Tudens. Roderic. Tolet. Vazæi Chron.

these oaths as far as it was possible, and desired their sentiments upon this head, that some rule might be established, in case any thing of the like nature should happen for the future ^p.

After mature deliberation, the fathers in council declared, that the first oath could not oblige the king, but so far as it was not contrary to justice: that right was to be done to all the world, and that therefore Egiza was not to support his mother-in-law and his brothers-in-law against any others than those who set up ill founded claims and unjust demands. They added, that the oath, if taken in favour of his subjects, could not oblige him any farther than justice required, and that the extent of this was to be determined by the judges ^q. This great point being settled, the council separated; nor was there any thing of importance done, except vindicating their president Julian, metropolitan of Toledo, against the pope, who pretended to question the orthodoxy of certain expressions that had been used in explaining mysteries of a high nature. On this occasion the council acted very roundly, not only without shewing the least submission to him, but even with a visible air of distaste at his conduct; yet at Rome they were so far from resenting this independency, as in later times, that the decision of the council was received as satisfactory, and the dispute thenceforward buried in oblivion ^r.

Sisebert, metropolitan of Toledo, conspires against the king and royal family.

The successor of Julian in the see of Toledo was Sisebert, who is supposed to have been a person of very high rank and quality amongst the Goths, but insolently proud and extravagantly ambitious, vices which put him, within two years after he had received this extraordinary favour, upon one of the boldest acts of ingratitude, as well as one of the rankest conspiracies that ever entered into the heart of man. In a word, the scheme he had formed was to cut off the king, the queen, and all their children. His interest was so extensive, his address so great, and his intrigues were so well laid, that he had gained a multitude of people of all ranks to abet even so wicked and traitorous a design: yet he could not manage his affairs so cunningly, but that the king had notice of his schemes, which he defeated, by causing his person to be secured; and, though some of his partizans actually broke out into rebellion, yet the king, by his prudent management, and by attending in time to the suppression of their attempts, quickly restored

^p Alphons. Magn. Chron. ^q Acta Concil. prædict. ^r Ferreras, Historia Hispana, P. iii. sec. 7.

the tranquillity of the kingdom; and then summoned a council at Toledo, to judge of the punishment proper to be inflicted on this turbulent prelate. His cause was accordingly heard; and he was deposed, for having conspired against the life of the king, the queen, and their children^a. This was the farthest step to which the council could proceed: but he was still left to the king's prosecution in the ordinary course of justice, who, out of respect to his dignity and character, was content to banish him out of his dominions^b.

Before the close of the year, the discovery of a new conspiracy constrained the king to assemble another council. This scheme was as deep-laid, and as dangerous as the former; for the Jews, who were scattered throughout all the provinces, had concerted a general insurrection, and, in consequence of their intelligence with others of their own nation in Africa, were in hopes of being strong enough, with the help of their foreign auxiliaries, to shake off the yoke. The king, by his vigilance, prevented this rebellion from breaking out; and the council, which met on the 9th of November, 694, decreed, that all Jews, who, after baptism, should either return to their old religion, or conspire against the king, should be made slaves, and lose all their effects^c. They farther prohibited the permitting these people for the future the public exercise of their religion; and directed their children should be taken from them at seven years of age, in order to be brought up Christians^d.

The Jews contrive an insurrection.

The Saracens in Africa having conquered the best part of Mauritania, and having a good fleet upon the coast to attend the motions of their army on shore, Egiza thought it a point of prudence to fit out a navy for the defence of his dominions. This precaution was taken accordingly, under the command of Theodimir, who is believed to have been either the son or the son-in-law of this monarch, and one of the persons devoted to destruction by Sisebert's conspiracy^e. The young prince had not been long at sea, before the infidels, confident of their own strength, and despising the youth and inexperience of the young admiral, attacked the Goths with great fury. The engagement, after an obstinate dispute, ended in a decisive victory in favour of the latter, by which Theodimir delivered Spain

A war by sea with the Saracens.

^a Conc. tom. v. p. 1327. Conc. Hispan., tom. ii. p. 735.
^b Vassæ Chron. ^c Act. Concil. Tolet. xvii. ^d Conc. tom. vi. p. 1361. Conc. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 752. ^e Ibid. Patens.

from its present apprehensions, and disappointed the hopes of those who wished for a foreign invasion, to give weight to their secret conspiracies, from which Egiza, through the whole course of his reign, was seldom or never free; yet it was not long before the expectations of the malcontents were revived by a war that broke out with the French ^f.

*Rupture on
the side of
France.*

It is not very clear what the motives were to this rupture, or indeed with whom it happened; for at this juncture the kings of France had so little real power, that they could not much disturb their neighbours; so that it is generally supposed, and in regard to this war we have no better light than conjectures, that the dukes of Aquitaine and Gascony having in a great measure rendered themselves independent, made an irruption into Spain, or rather into the Gallic province that belonged to Spain, which obliged Egiza to send a considerable army into those parts. In the course of this war there were no less than three battles fought, in which the Goths had no advantage; the French were also no great gainers; in a word, both parties grew weary of the war, which, as it rose, so it ceased gradually, and Egiza, by keeping good garrisons on his frontiers, discouraged those invaders from repeating their visits. It is probable that one principal cause of his moderation was, his being far advanced in years, and the strong desire he had of seeing the tranquility of his dominions thoroughly established before his death. With this view he proposed to the nobility associating his son Witiza with him in the government, that, amidst so many perils, the kingdom might run no unnecessary hazard by those disorders which almost constantly happened upon a vacancy of the throne. His arguments had so much weight with them, that they readily yielded to his request; and the old king thereupon sent his son into Galicia, where he kept his court in the city of Tuy, that having the administration of a province in his own hands, he might be accustomed to business, and be more capable of ruling the Goths when he became the sole monarch of so potent a nation ^g.

The king, when he perceived that his son's great abilities had gained him the affections of the people, resolved to sanctify what had been already done with the consent of the nobility, by the approbation of a council, summoned for that purpose at Toledo, in which Felix, me-

^f Alphonf. Magn. Chron.

^g Isid. Pacenf.

tropolitan of that city, presided^h; but the acts of it are unfortunately lost. We should have had no memorial of this assembly at all, but for the care of some ancient historians, who have barely mentioned the place where it was held, and given us some light as to the reason the king had for holding it, which, it seems, it effectually answered.

The weight of years, and the load of those infirmities which accompany them, brought Egiza to his grave in the month of October in the year 700. Some, but these are for the most part modern writers, accuse this monarch of cruelty, especially at the entrance of his reign; which charge cannot, however, be easily reconciled to the high commendations for his clemency, bestowed upon him by several councils. Besides, it is certain, that not long after his accession, he pardoned, and restored to the rank of a lord of the palace, Theudemond, a nobleman whom his uncle Wamba had banished and degraded. It is also universally allowed, that he was a prince of great piety, that he lessened the weight of taxes, and that he was very strict in the administration of justice. The notion that has prevailed of his having repudiated his queen at his first coming to the crown, seems to have no other foundation than the mistaking the true sense of a canon made by one of the councils at Toledo; and though it is countenanced by so great a writer as Mariana, is very justly rejected by Ferreras. Upon the whole, he was a vigilant and victorious monarch, laboured incessantly to bring things into good order, and, as far as it was possible, to provide the best remedies for those evils which he could not eradicateⁱ. His reputation and his power preserved his kingdom in peace, and the people of Spain in such wealth and plenty, that the luxury this produced proved very soon after fatal to their safety, but ought not to prove so to his reputation. He without question hoped they would have made a better use of that abundance which they accumulated from the happy situation and rich produce of their country, and from the wisdom and lenity of his administration, which did not fall in any degree short of that of his predecessor^k.

Witiza was no sooner informed of his father's death, than, leaving Tuy, he repaired to Toledo, where he began

Egiza's death and character.

Witiza gains the hearts of his subjects.

^h Roderic. Tolet. lib. iii. Luc. Tudens. Vassæ Chron. phons. Magn. Chron. ^k Isid. Pacens. Vassæ Chron.

ⁱ Al.

his reign with such extraordinary acts of goodness and clemency, as gained him the affections of his subjects to a degree of adoration. He granted, in the first place, an act of general amnesty, recalled all that had been banished by his father on the score of their infidelity to Wamba, or having had a share in the conspiracy of Sisebert, metropolitan of Toledo. Being desirous that all ranks and degrees of his people should feel the effects of his generous disposition, he caused all the registers and books of account, in which there were any entries of fines, impositions, or taxes, remaining due to the crown, to be thrown into the fire, and so released them all at once. We need not wonder that such a prince as this was excessively commended; nor is it at all strange that these excessive commendations had a bad effect upon a young man of a gentle, generous, and lively disposition. Yet we cannot imagine he became vicious all at once, or that, from his behaving with the greatest moderation, kindness, and tenderness, towards his people, he should immediately grow cruel and profligate in the most extreme degree^l. Such a sudden transition must appear very improbable. As no authority is brought to support this charge, there is the greatest reason to believe it is ill founded; and that, if Witiza became in reality such a monster as he is reported, he sunk gradually into vices and debaucheries.

In the first year of his reign he held a general council at Toledo, in which Gunderic, metropolitan of that see, presided; a prelate universally extolled for his piety, and, which is still more remarkable, for his zeal and fortitude in opposing the king in his ill courses, and remonstrating to him the bad effects his vices would have in weakening his government, and corrupting his subjects^m. Such a man could not be suspected of countenancing wicked actions, and much less of giving them credit by the decrees of such an assembly, the acts of which are long ago destroyed; but if, in this council, an attempt made by the pope to settle his jurisdiction in Spain was rejected with contempt, and treated as an usurpation, we may easily find a reason why the acts of this council were either destroyed, or withheld from the lightⁿ. If, in the same assembly, any canon was made for allowing secular priests to marry, we may easily apprehend that this did not arise from any

^l Card. D'Aguirre, Concil. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 763.
Pacens.

ⁿ See Dr. Geddes's Treatise.

^m Isidor.

intention of indulging, but rather from a desire of repressing the corruption of the clergy. We can likewise easily see, that as things now stand, and have long stood in Spain, it is by no means fit that any such canon should appear; and this consideration will account, to any unprejudiced mind, for the methods in which these facts are related in the Spanish histories.

We must, however, admit, if we will give credit to the unanimous voice of the Spanish historians in these and in succeeding times, that soon after the decease of his father, Witiza suffered himself to be seduced by his natural propensity to pleasure, by the base insinuations of flattering courtiers, and by that smiling prospect of prosperity that had attended his father's virtues and his own, to digress from that path which he had hitherto trod, and to make excursions unworthy of a wise man and a great prince. In short, he gradually gave way to sensual inclinations, till at last he abandoned himself wholly to women. From being dissolute only he quickly became unjust, and having deserted his queen's bed, he invaded the beds of other men; a crime, which however common among princes, is notwithstanding the most compendious method of filling up their iniquities, and conducts them by the very shortest road from general esteem to universal execration. Gunderic apprised him of his danger early; but Witiza was not to be restrained; he was misled by those transports of loyalty which he had beheld in his people. He simply imagined they would keep their duty when he forgot his own, and that the fervour which his virtues had raised would not be extinguished even by his vices^p. But in the space of a few years he found his mistake, and that a persuasion of his having lost his people's hearts, encouraged some to think of arming their hands against him; which discovery, instead of convincing him of the necessity of regaining their good opinions, by taking a contrary course, prompted him to another vice, more hateful than the former, which was cruelty; a step, which as it made him a much worse man, made him so much the more hated^q.

Witiza becomes dissolute.

In the train of his debauches he came at length to have as little regard for decency or honour as for the dictates of his conscience, or the laws of his country, so that the daughters and wives of the most distinguished persons

^p Mar. Hist. de Hispana, lib. vi. cap. 19.
Alphonf. Magn. Chron. Vafæi Chron.

^q Ferreras Hist. de Hispana, part iii. sect. viii.

about his court entered as frequently into the number of his concubines, as the irregularity of his passions led him to cast his eyes upon them preferably to others^r. By this imprudent procedure, he provoked those who were most able to hurt him; but having intelligence of the first conspiracies that were raised against him, he delivered himself by exiling such as he had most reason to suspect. Amongst these were some princes of the royal family, particularly Theodofred, the brother of king Recesuintho, whom he sent to Cordova, where some say he caused his eyes to be put out, that he might be in no condition of mounting the throne; and with him went his son Roderic, who actually succeeded Witiza^s. At this time also it is believed he banished Pelagius, who is generally held to be the son of Favila, who was likewise brother to king Recesuintho. If we speak doubtfully of these genealogies, it is that we may avoid misleading the reader; for we make no question at all that these were princes, that is, descended from crowned heads among the Visigoths, but from whom, or in what degree, is very uncertain. Mariana would have us believe, that while Witiza resided at Tuy he killed Favila, the father of Don Pelagius, with the blow of a baton, or commanding staff, at the time this prince was captain of his guard, an action which, as we have elsewhere observed, does by no means agree with those high and universal praises bestowed upon Witiza at his accession to the throne^t.

He is also said to have committed other strange, wicked, and even wild actions, which are many of them improbable, and some of them impossible. Among the first may be reckoned a law, permitting his subjects to have as many wives as they pleased; and another for breaking to pieces and destroying arms of every kind, under pretence that he would render them needless, by maintaining his people in constant peace. Amongst the latter we may justly range another law, said to be of his making, for dismantling every town in his dominions, except the cities of Toledo, Tuy, and Astorga; a circumstance which could not be true, because the Moors found many of them very well fortified. We have no intention to extenuate his vices, or apologize for his conduct; but with the wiser and more judicious of the Spanish historians, to ex-

^r Alphonf Magn. Chron. Roderic Toletan. lib. iii.

de Albayd. Roderic Tolet. lib. iii.

iv. sect 8.

^s Chron.

^t Ferr. Hist. de Hispan. part

pose those exaggerations which are unworthy of belief. Witiza might be a wicked, and, in that sense, a weak prince, without being a madman or an idiot^u. His vices grew upon him daily, more especially after the death of Gunderic, who was succeeded by Sindered in the see of Toledo; a man who is said to have complied with his prince, at the expence of his conscience and his function. It is likewise asserted, with great probability, that, misguided by the bad example of the court, the people in general became luxurious, indolent, and vicious, which degeneracy lessened them in the esteem of their neighbours, and paved the way for that ruin in which they were quickly after swallowed up. We must now turn our eyes upon those whom Providence made the scourges of a dissolute monarch and a degenerate people, and take notice of the first steps that were made towards their destruction^w.

Walid was at this time khalif of the Saracens, and Muza was the general who commanded his forces in the maritime parts of Africa. He had already, by order of his master, reduced the rest of Mauritania under his obedience, and resolved to finish his conquest by driving the Goths out of the small part of that country of which they were possessed. It was with this view that he marched directly with a numerous army to form the siege of Ceuta, in which count Julian commanded, who is said to have espoused the sister of Oppas and of king Witiza. He was certainly a man of great quality, and an excellent officer, for he defended the place with such skill and intrepidity, that, after considerable loss, Muza was obliged to raise the siege; and, as a proof of his resentment for want of success, ravaged and destroyed all the adjacent country without mercy. Some time after this miscarriage, bearing still in his mind the anger kindled by this defeat, he caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out, that he might try whether the Goths were as able to defend themselves at sea as on shore. Witiza likewise equipped a powerful navy, under the command of prince Theodomir, who had been before victorious over this enemy, and was so fortunate as to defeat them again; a circumstance which obliged Muza to consider his future attempts better, though at the same time it served to augment that indig-

*Muza be-
sieves
Ceuta*

^u Ferreras.
Luc. Tudens.

^w Isidor. Pacens. Alphonf. Magn. Chron.

nation he had conceived against the Goths, and which was ever after implacable.

Without all doubt Witiza, having such adversaries to deal with, ought to have exerted uncommon diligence in putting his dominions, especially the sea-coast, in a proper state of defence; but when princes devote themselves entirely to pleasure, it so enervates their faculties, and clouds their understandings, that they remain in a kind of dead sleep, in which destruction generally finds them*. Besides this neglect of Witiza, to take the measures necessary in so critical a conjuncture, there was another circumstance that could not fail of retarding his progress in that respect, though he might have been so inclined; and this was the suspicion he had of the fidelity of many of his subjects, which rendered it extremely dangerous for him to raise forces in different parts of the kingdom, who, instead of resisting foreign enemies, might have turned their arms against himself†. We may from hence discern, that the condition of Spain at this time was such as really invited the Moors, a restless and martial nation, to attempt an invasion, at the same time that it disabled the Goths from exerting themselves in a manner otherwise natural to a people who had established themselves in Spain by conquest, and who had hitherto defended their territories by the same courage and discipline, through the exercise of which they had been acquired.

*A civil
war
breaks out.*

All the arts that Witiza could use, and all the precautions that his diffidence could inspire, proved in the end ineffectual for preventing the defection of his subjects, who, taking advantage of the distracted state of his affairs, began to shake off all respect for his government in several distant provinces. Roderic, the son of Theodofred, availing himself of this general disposition, was quickly in such a state as to form pretensions to the regal dignity, so that a civil war began, and confusion served as a prelude to universal destruction‡. The king's thoughts being taken off from the care of the public, were from this time entirely turned to the preservation of himself and his family. On the other hand, the rebels and malecontents having their own safety chiefly in view, were assiduous only in bringing that revolution to bear which might free

* Alphonf. Magn. Chron. l. i. c. Tudens. Roderic Tolet. lib. iii.
† Vafæi Chron.
‡ Alphonf. Magn. Chron. Luc. Tudens. Vafæi Chron.

them from all fear of punishment from Witiza. The apprehensions of the present and immediate danger on both sides, hindered either party from discerning the peril they were in of being totally overthrown by an enterprising and vigilant enemy, that kept an eye continually upon their divisions, and expected with impatience when a proper opportunity would offer for renewing their endeavours to extend that empire which they had lately established in Africa ^a.

The governor of Mauritania for the khalif, Muza, after long meditation, judged the most probable means of subduing Spain, was to gain a footing in that country, by seizing either some strong place, or some small district that might be easily fortified. Having this project once in his mind, it was not long before he perceived that the peninsula fronting Africa, and within four leagues of his own province, was the fittest that he could desire for such a purpose. He made choice, therefore of Taric, or Tarif Abuzara, to command a small body of troops, which he caused to be embarked for the execution of this design, about the success of which authors differ extremely. The Spanish writers say, that he landed with so small a force, that he was speedily repulsed, and obliged to return to Africa; whereas some of the Arabians assert, that finding the Goths engaged in a civil war, he ravaged all the coasts, and returned to Muza with an account that his enterprize would be found a great deal more easy than he himself had imagined ^b. Others maintain, that he went yet farther, and that he established himself here, bestowing the name of Geizira Haladra, that is, the *Green Island*, afterwards contracted into Algeicira, on the whole tract, and that of Gebel Tarick, which, by degrees, has been softened into Gibraltar, on the promontory and fortress which he erected there ^c. This, in the sentiment of the most judicious of the Spanish critics, is accounted the first entrance of the Moors, the step by which they prepared for a general conquest; and, from a nice and judicious comparison of facts and dates, they fixed this introductory expedition of Tarif Abuzara, to A. D. 709 ^d.

The first descent made by the Moors.

While Muza was contriving in what manner he might most effectually avail his master of what had been already done and discovered in Spain, the civil war continued be-

^a Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arab. Mohammed Ebnalgocia.

^b Chron. de Albayd. Mo-

^c Sharifol Edrisi, five Geog. Nub.

^d Mondejar Examen Chronologico.

tween king Witiza and Don Roderic, till the death of the former put the latter in possession of the kingdom, but without putting an end to the war; for Evan and Sisebut, the sons of Witiza, having been long accustomed to be styled princes, could not think of being degraded into the rank of private persons with patience, and therefore took every method that could be devised to make the utmost use of their father's creatures, in order to ascend the throne^e. It was to compass this end that they began to intrigue with the Saracens, and, as if the miseries of their country were not already too many, to propose to them sending an army into Spain, which through the intrigues of count Julian, they were more than enough inclined to do. It must appear strange to an attentive reader, that this noble personage, who, but a short time before, had done his country such a remarkable service, by the defence of Ceuta against this very man and this very nation, should now go over to their interests, and labour to throw his country into the most miserable condition that can possibly be conceived. It must be imagined, that he was impelled to this treason either by the promise of a prodigious recompence, or, which is rather to be expected in a man of his birth or quality, by too deep resentment of some personal injury. This last conjecture is adopted by most historians, and in some we find a copious and circumstantial account of the manner in which king Roderic ravished his daughter Cava, with a long train of particulars that visibly betray the romance. Those who are more desirous of finding truth, are very far from being positive whether it was the daughter or the wife of count Julian that was thus injured; and some modern critics, after entering closely and deeply into this enquiry, instead of solving those doubts, have introduced a new and greater difficulty with respect to the king by whom this injury was done, and who, they think it very probable, was not Roderic, but Witiza^f. Others again, reflecting upon these uncertainties, and that none of the ancient Spanish chronicles afford the least hint of this matter, conclude the whole to be a fable, which therefore they reject entirely^g (A).

But

^e Luc. Tudenf. Roderic Tolet. Vasei Chron. ^f Roder.
Santii Episc. Palent. Alfons. a Carthag. Reg. Vasei Chron.
^g Mantuan, Pollicer.

(K) It is certainly not a little of this story, that Isidore of
the unfortunate for the credit Badajoz, Don Alphonso the
Great,

But without carrying the matter so far, we may allow the Arabian writers, who, in this respect, had as good a title to be well informed as the Spanish, may be in the right as to the assistance given Muza by Don Julian, moved to this inexcusable and barbarous conduct by resenting some flagrant injury done to him at home, while he was defending the conquests of the Goths abroad. By the persuasion of count Julian, Muza made a second and much more considerable embarkation, under the command of a new general, whose name was Tarick Abdalahi, who,

Muza makes a second descent upon Spain.

Great, and the author of the Chronicle of Albayda, the three most ancient, as well as most authentic writers concerning these times, should not mention or take the least notice of it; so that till the archbishop, Don Roderic of Toledo, brought it to light from the memoirs, and on the faith of the Arabians, it was scarce known in Spain; yet it might for all that be very true, and the doubts raised concerning it are not so much founded in the fact, as in the circumstances with which it is related; for it is said that Roderic, king of the Goths, accidentally discovering from a window Cava, the daughter of Don Julian, who then attended upon the queen Egilona, half naked, became in love with her to such a degree, that, finding every method he could take to corrupt her virtue, vain, he at length employed force. Upon this she wrote to her father; and Mariana has given us her letter at large, which is one of the ornaments of his history, and Don Julian's answer, who afterwards returned into Spain, and dissembling the injury he had received, prevailed upon the king to send him ambassador to Muza,

and to permit him to carry his daughter with him, which opportunity he took to persuade the Saracens to undertake the conquest of Spain. Now most of these facts may very probably be true, if, instead of king Roderic, we substitute Witiza, in whose time count Julian began his intrigues with the Moors. Indeed, in the succeeding part of the history, we find count Julian acting in concert with the sons of Witiza, which seems to be inconsistent with the resentment shewn against their father. The answer to this, however, is both easy and natural, since Marmol, who was an inquisitive and intelligent writer, positively assures us, that he found it recorded in an ancient history of those times, that this traitor was the brother-in-law of the king he betrayed, and we may believe the wife of count Julian was Witiza's sister, and consequently those young princes were his nephews. We may add to this, that the reign of Roderic was so short and so full of troubles, and his own personal character in other respects so fair, that nothing can be more improbable with respect to him than this imputation.

with upwards of seven thousand men, accompanied by count Julian, landed near Gibraltar, and from thence made inroads into the adjacent country^b. The Saracen general, being thoroughly informed of the divisions of the Goths, and how little king Roderic was in a condition to oppose them, resolved, even with so inconsiderable a force, to attempt the reduction of the whole kingdom. That this design might not be disappointed by his soldiers endeavouring to return with their spoils into Africa, he caused his fleet to be set on fire before his intentions were generally known; but it is supposed that he gave proper notice, as well of what he designed to do, as of what he had already done, to Muza, from whom he derived his authority. This is considered as the second invasion of the Moors, and is by many writers confounded with the first, because the forces landed at the same place; but the best authorities place this in the year 710ⁱ.

King Roderic assembles an army to resist them,

The wise governor of Mauritania, who had rendered himself accountable to the khalif his master for the success of the war he had undertaken, entirely approved of this measure, as thinking the force already sent over by no means proportionable to such a design, though he was at the same time very well pleased that his general was in possession of a fortress and fort, where, for the future, he might send reinforcements as occasion required. But believing it necessary, in the first place, to have a superior army in the field, he got together as many vessels as was possible, and drew out of his army twelve thousand men more, mostly natives of Mauritania, from whence the conquest of Spain is attributed to the Moors, and sent them over under the command of Tarick Abincier, whom he declared general and commander in chief, and who had instructions to extend his conquests as far he was able, without hazarding his troops too much by marching into the heart of the country^k. We must naturally conclude, that the contrivance, providing necessaries, and carrying this scheme into execution, must have been attended with various delays, and occasioned, on the whole, a great consumption of time, insomuch that we cannot easily conceive this new general could take the field before the summer of 711, at which time he found king Roderic, who had already brought his affairs into some order, at the head of a small army, ready to oppose him, and at the

^b Geograph. Nubiens. Roderic Tolet.
Hispana, part iii. sect. 8.

ⁱ Ferreras, Hist.

^k Ibid. part iv. sect. 8.

same time to cover, as far as he was able, all the open country behind him from the incursions of the Moors, who, as they had a considerable body of horse, made, wherever they came, a most dreadful devastation, and exercised, by the advice of Don Julian, and with a view to strike a terror that might render resistance vain, the most inhuman cruelties upon the unarmed and defenceless inhabitants.

The reader will discern that hitherto we have had but a very indistinct account of this last monarch of the Visigoths. We have no authentic relation of the place or manner of Witiza's death, or of the solemn election, or at least recognition, of Roderic; for things were now in such disorder and confusion, so many evils were felt, such numberless dangers threatened, and this calamitous scene was of so long a continuance, that very few people had any inclination to put the transactions of these times into writing, till it became impossible to speak of them with that correctness and accuracy that posterity might wish or expect. It is indeed true, that some historians afterwards stepped in, and in a good measure filled up this chasm with incongruous and superstitious stories, below the dignity of history, which have so obscured any traces of truth that may remain amongst them, as to prevent the bringing them together in a way that might afford the reader any tolerable satisfaction; and therefore it is much better to content ourselves with a few facts, that are tolerably well supported, as being drawn from the short chronicles of ancient writers, than to have recourse to these fabulous supplements, which, though they might entertain and amuse, could not either inform or instruct¹.

The king of the Visigoths perceiving plainly that this kind of defensive war would by degrees waste his army, and ruin his subjects, and being at the same time conscious that he was in no condition to act offensively, laboured with all imaginable industry to heal the divisions that had been so fatal to his country. With this view he made some propositions to the sons of Witiza, who had still a considerable party at their devotion. Whether these young princes repented of their past conduct, and entered into the king's reasons, or whether they resolved to postpone their presentments for the present, and to resume them when a more favourable opportunity offered,

Both parties determine upon a battle.

¹ Roder. Santii Episc. Palent. Alfonsi a Carthag. Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

is very uncertain ; yet, whatever their intentions were, it is generally agreed that they altered their behaviour, accepted the terms offered them by the king, and joined his army with their forces ^m. The Moorish general, Tarrick, being informed of this accommodation, and that Roderic was putting himself at the head of all the troops he could raise, in order to act offensively, sent an exact account of every thing to Muza, demanding a reinforcement, that he might be in a condition to dispute matters with the enemy, in case, after this alteration of their affairs, it should come to his turn to act on the defensive. Muza no sooner received this intelligence, than he caused a body of five thousand men to embark, and sent fresh instructions with this reinforcement to his general, who now thought himself in a condition to keep the field, and even to give them battle if they were so inclined. This was indeed the only method Roderic had to take ; his army was more numerous, he had the flower of his nobility about him, and he saw that things could not remain long in the situation they were in, unless it was in his power to give the Moors such a check as might oblige them to return again to Africa ; he therefore made dispositions for a general engagement, which he knew must be decisive ; and omitted nothing that was in his power to inspire his troops with the spirit of their ancestors. His presence, his eloquence, and his activity, had a great influence over his army. Though the season of the year was far advanced, and the troops were much fatigued by their frequent endeavours to cover the country, yet they shewed themselves willing to exert their utmost power to rid themselves once for all of such dangerous and troublesome neighbours. Roderic, without suffering their courage to cool, assigned all his generals their proper posts, and marched directly towards the forces of the Moors, to determine the fate of Spain by a single action ⁿ.

*The total
defeat of
the Spa-
nish army.*

The Moors, on their side, were very far from declining the engagement, and fought only to avoid fighting with any manifest disadvantage of ground. At length the armies met in a plain near the town of Xeres de la Frontera, on the banks of the river Guadalete, about three leagues from Arcos, in the kingdom of Andalusia, as it is now called. The Goths charged with all the fury that is commonly inspired by despair ; but the Moors, who were old seasoned troops, received them with such fortitude as they could not shake. They made, however, se-

^m Ferreras Historia Hispana, part iv. sect. 8.

ⁿ *Ibid.* Pacens.

veral vigorous efforts to penetrate through the infidels, but in vain; for the number of experienced officers amongst them kept the soldiers to their duty, and hindered them from rendering victory precarious by too early a pursuit°. At last, however, the Goths being entirely broken, the Moorish cavalry fell in amongst them, and made prodigious slaughter, rendering their victory as complete as they could desire; for the Goths flying without order, many more were killed in running away than had fallen in the action; and the scattered remains dispersed beyond all possibility of being rallied. We are not told what the numbers were that fell in this bloody dispute, but without question the loss on the side of the Goths must have been very great; and what rendered the misfortune still more grievous, they had no place of retreat, no other army to which they might retire, nor any person of note with them to give the least directions in so dreadful a conjuncture. Such was this fatal battle, by which the monarchy of the Goths was entirely subverted; and though there seems to be very little or no dispute about the day, which was the 11th of November, the festival of the popish St. Martin, bishop of Tours, yet it is not easy to say whether it was in the year 711 or 712, the majority of writers declaring in favour of the latter, though the former is maintained to be the true date by the most judicious of the Spanish critics^p.

Some of the Spanish historians, and even Mariana, ascribe this defeat in a great measure to the treachery of the two princes, sons to Witiza, who, by the advice of their uncle Oppas, metropolitan of Seville, went over to the Moors in the heat of the action; but as this fact is not mentioned by any ancient author, it cannot be depended upon^q. As for the king Roderic, he made his escape, and, as many writers say, retired first to a convent near Merida, and from thence, with a monk whose name was Romanus, to a hermitage not far from the city of Visco in Portugal, where it is reported he lived some time, and then died in obscurity. King Alphonso the Great assures us, that in his time the tomb of this unfortunate monarch was discovered in a church in that neighbourhood; but, as Ferreras justly observes, it is much more probable, that, being wounded in the battle, he fled thither with the utmost expedition, and died quickly after of fatigue, of his

° Elmacin. Epit. Hist. Saracen. lib. i.
Abarca, Perez, Mondejar.

^p Marca, Pellicer,
^q Roderic Toletan.

wounds, or of despair, because it is not easy to conceive how he should continue for any space of time, much less for two or three years, undiscovered, in a country overrun by the enemy; or that a prince, so personally brave as all historians report him to have been, should abandon his subjects to the rage of such barbarous enemies, without making the least attempt to assemble, in some distant part of his dominions, another army, that might have done something towards their deliverance^r. The danger of leading that retired life was not at all less; and the glory of aiming at the relief of his subjects, whatever the consequence might have been, would have done more honour to his memory than those legendary stories that have been published of his severe penance in the place which he chose for his retreat^s.

*The Moors
invite
Muza
into Spain,
in order to
complete
their con-
quest.*

The Moorish general Tarick, as soon as he perceived that he was not only master of the field of battle, and the enemy entirely defeated, but that there was not so much as the appearance of an army in the field, and that the inhabitants of all the adjacent cities and country were in the utmost distraction and consternation, resolved, like an experienced general, to leave them no time to recover their spirits, but immediately attacked and reduced Seville, Cordova, and other cities that were in no condition to make resistance. That this universal terror might not abate, he suffered his army to commit the most horrid outrages, without restriction or punishment, so that persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages, fell by the sword; a savage expedient which had the effect he foresaw, and filled the people every where with such amazement and fright, that they lost all power of resistance, and submitted to whatever terms he thought fit to prescribe. He sent an exact account of all that had passed to Muza, under whose authority, and by whose orders, he had undertaken and executed this fortunate expedition. He gave that general to understand, that the people were so terrified as not to think of a new election; and that this, of all others, seemed the most proper time for making a complete conquest: that it was necessary for him to come over in person; that he should bring with him a competent supply of troops; and that, before the Goths had time to recollect themselves, he might then be able to penetrate even to the most distant provinces of the kingdom; whereas the troops

^r Ferr. Hist. Hispana, P. iv. sec. 8.
Turquet, Vayrac.

^s Mariana, Mayerne,

under his command were but barely sufficient to garrison the towns, and protect the country he had already conquered, so that it was impossible for him to improve this important and decisive victory any farther¹.

There wanted not many arguments to convince Muza of the expediency of his passage into Spain, neither was he at all retarded in his expedition through the want of those supplies that Tarick had demanded; for, having caused a report to be spread through Africa of the immense wealth of the Spaniards, and that the plunder of every place that made the least resistance was given to the soldiers, his army was quickly completed, so that it was much more difficult to find shipping to embark them, than men who were ready to embark. On his arrival in Spain with this multitude, which were all landed at, or in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, he held a council of war, at which Tarick, and all the general officers under him, assisted: in this council it was resolved, that, as nothing more was to be apprehended from the Goths, whose intestine feuds survived their government, and prevented any stop from being put to that conflagration which it had kindled, the wisest measure that could be pursued, as they had a competent force, was to achieve the conquest of this great country at once². For this purpose, Muza divided his forces into three armies; the first, commanded by his son Abdalaziz, had orders to conquer all the country lying on the Mediterranean; another general was charged with the like commission, in respect to the provinces lying upon the ocean; but the largest of the three corps, under Muza himself, with whom Tarick went as his lieutenant-general, undertook the reduction of the midland countries; and this plan of conquest being once settled, was immediately carried into execution³. It was resolved, that good terms should be given, or at least promised, to every place that submitted; and that wherever they met with any resistance, all should be left to the discretion of the soldiers, or, in other words, the effects of the inhabitants given up to be pillaged, and their persons to slaughter without mercy.

Muza, with the main army under his command, advanced without any resistance as far as Merida, which being a place of some strength, the inhabitants stood upon

Plan laid for carrying this great design into execution.

In what manner, and in what space of time this was effected.

¹ Roderic Tolet. lib. iii. & Hist. Arab. Luc. Tudens. Vassæi Chron. ² Ibid. Pacens. Roderic Tolet. ³ Ferreras Hist. Hispana, P. iv. sect. 2.

their defence; but at length judged it best to surrender, on promise that they should be permitted the free exercise of their religion, and live under their own laws^x. The general of the Moors then proceeded with his victorious forces towards the capital, and in a short time after appeared before Toledo. Sindered, metropolitan of that city, had retired before this time to Rome, abandoning his flock to their misfortunes. Many of the ecclesiastics had likewise withdrawn with the treasure of their respective churches into the mountains of Leon and Old Castile, where they were covered and protected by those who preferred liberty in a desert to the finest country where that was wanting^y. The great lords of the court, who had done so little either for themselves or for their country, were desirous of making their escape before the place was invested. Oppas, metropolitan of Seville, who accompanied Muza, pursued them with a body of Moorish cavalry, and, coming up with them, cut them off, in revenge for the dislike they had shewn to his family^z. The people, delivered from these incumbrances, defended themselves with great resolution, and surrendered at last upon honourable terms; in which, amongst other things, it was stipulated, that seven of their churches should remain to the use of the Christians, and that the people should be governed by their own laws. In the course of this capitulation, there was some mention made of the security the inhabitants might expect for the due performance of articles; upon which those who treated for the town declared, that they did not expect or desire any other security than the faith of Muza, by which it is certain they were no sufferers; and from hence Ferreras thinks they were styled Muzarabians, or Mozarabians, though as to this there are very different reasons given by some of the most learned amongst the Spanish antiquaries^a (B).

While

^x Roderic Tolet. lib. iii.
Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

^y Vassæi Chron.

^z Mariana,

^a Aldrette, Mondejar.

(B) These adjectives, Mozarabian and Mozarabic, occur so frequently in all the Spanish histories, that we need not wonder authors differ about their origin and signification. The derivation given in the text is from Ferreras, and as

probable as any. The famous Mozarabic liturgy, said to be revised, at least, if not composed in part, by St. Isidore of Seville, is so called from its having been in use among the Christians who remained at Toledo, and remains a notable proof

While Muza was thus employed, he sent a strong detachment, under the command of a general officer, into that country which is now called Portugal, where the towns of Egítania and Osonoba, having made some resistance, were plundered and demolished. This severity so terrified the inhabitants of Evora, Lisbon, Viseo, and Lamego, that each of them submitted upon the best capitulation that could be obtained; but the people of Coimbre, or Conimbra, making an obstinate defence, that city was almost entirely destroyed. Some Arabian historians, who are followed by many Spanish writers, place the reduction of Merida here, and enter into a long detail of the siege, which, to lessen the horrors of so melancholy a story, they have decorated with some marvellous circumstances^b. After all these conquests, Muza thought proper to give his troops some repose, that he might have leisure to provide for the civil government of his new subjects, of whom at present no higher tributes were demanded than they had paid to their own monarchs. But let us now say somewhat of what was performed by the other generals, who did their business as effectually^c.

Abdalaziz, with his forces, entered those countries that have been since known under the titles of the kingdoms of Jaen, Granada, Murcia, and Valencia, the best part of which were ravaged by his cavalry^d: yet he met with more resistance than had been made to his father; for prince Theodomir, who had acted with so much reputation at the head of the naval forces of the Goths, assembled a small body of troops on the frontiers of the kingdom of Valencia, with which he gave the Moors so much trouble, that they were obliged to send advice of the situation they were in to Muza, whose troops were quickly in motion; so that Theodomir must have been surrounded, if he had not very wisely demanded conditions from Abdalaziz, a young man of a noble and generous disposition, who granted him a fair capitulation, the articles of which were put into writing, and signed on both sides: by these the country he protected reaped great advantages, and Theodomir himself was intrusted with the government of it as

Theodomir makes terms for himself and his adherents.

^b Mariana, *Historia Hispana*, lib. vi. cap. 25.
Tolet. lib. iii.

^d Vassæi Chron.

^c Roderic

proof of the true sentiments of the old Spanish church. There is also a chapel in the cathedral of that city, distinguished by the same title, and for the same reason.

in time past. The other general, meeting with little or no opposition, but marking his progress every where with blood and devastation, pushed his conquest to the very extremities of Galicia ^e.

Muza proceeds to the reduction of the inland parts of the kingdom.

Next year Muza, with his army, entered early into the field, and seems to have divided his forces in two columns; for it appears, that, while he marched with one part of them to form the siege of Saragossa, the rest entered Old Castile and Leon, where it is probable they met with more than ordinary resistance, since they dismantled and destroyed almost all the cities and towns in those countries, to the very foot of the mountains ^f. Abdalaziz, on his side, brought partly by force, and partly by persuasion, the provinces on the coast of the Mediterranean under his subjection as far as Tarragona, a city in those days strong, rich, and very populous. The inhabitants defended themselves for some time with great courage; but at length perceiving, that on one side they had nothing to expect but utter destruction, and that there was no kind of succour to be looked for on the other, they made their peace on the best terms possible, which left the young Moor at leisure to carry his victorious arms throughout Catalonia, to the foot of the Pyrenees. By these means the reader will perceive, that the poor remains of the Goths were shut up in the mountains of Asturias, Burgos, and Biscay, where they could not be easily forced. As for the inhabitants of Arragon, Catalonia, and Navarre, who, in conjunction with them, might have made a considerable stand against the common enemy, they chose for the most part to retire into France, better pleased to enjoy quiet in a foreign country, than to live in a miserable and precarious state in their own ^g.

As the business of war was now over, and the inhabitants of Spain had their spirits so weakened and broke, that they seemed to have lost equally the will and the power to revolt, Muza found himself obliged to yield obedience to the khalif Walid's order, which required him to repair immediately to Damascus, to answer such demands as the emperor had to make. This order was drawn upon him by the misunderstanding that arose between him and Tarick, almost as soon as he had set his foot in Spain; for that general attributed all the success they had met with to his own abilities and good fortune, and could not bear

^e *Ibid.* Pacenf. Tolet.

^f *Rod.* Tolet.

^g *Luc.* Tudenf. Rod.

with patience that Muza, with his superior title, should run away with the reward. On the other hand, Muza, having amassed in this and in his other conquests a prodigious treasure, and having the most considerable officers of the army at his devotion, behaved in Spain rather as a sovereign prince than as the lieutenant of the khalif; more especially towards Tarick, with whom he professed himself displeased, and would very willingly have made him feel the weight of his resentment. When he came to depart, he caused a vast quantity of precious stones, rich plate, and other valuable effects, together with the most beautiful slaves of both sexes, to be put on board his fleet, for the khalif's use: he carried likewise Tarick with him, and prince Theodomir, that he might hinder the former from doing mischief in Spain, and procure for the latter the ratification of that treaty which he had made with his son, being extremely pleased with the noble frankness and great candour of that worthy person. On their arrival at the court of the khalif, Muza, after all his services, found but a very indifferent reception; but Theodomir obtained all that he sought, and was treated with the utmost respect and kindness by the khalif Walid as long as he lived, and had the like attention shewn him after his decease by his brother Zuliman, or Solyman, who succeeded him in the khalifat ^b.

The government of Spain remained all this time in the hands of Abdalaziz, whose authority was confirmed by the khalif Zuliman, and from him it is supposed that he received orders to make an actual survey of the whole kingdom; that the administration of justice might be put into a regular method, the revenue more easily collected, and the value of this important conquest be with more certainty known. At least, in this particular, all historians agree, that Abdalaziz undertook to have such a description made, under his own inspection. For this purpose, he made a tour through most of the provinces of the kingdom, in which it is asserted, that, if he was assiduous in doing the khalif's business, he was not negligent in his own. He made himself perfectly acquainted with the true state of things, and the condition the people were in; their laws, customs, and tributes, which he regulated at his pleasure; and, from whatever motive it proceeded, he was certainly very gracious, and very kind to the inhabit-

The government, upon this, devolves on Abdalaziz, son to Muza.

^b Elmacin, Epit. Hist. Saracen. Isid. Pacens.

ants, to whom he made magnificent promises, and upon whom he bestowed many favours. The Moorish officers and governors of great cities had orders to cleanse and repair them, new fortresses were erected in proper places, and the necessary orders issued for restoring a free intercourse between the several provinces, that the people in general might enjoy the blessings of peace, and have reason to be pleased with his mild administration; methods that there is little reason to doubt produced, at least in a great measure, the desired effect¹ (C).

But, with all this prudence, œconomy, and moderation, Abdalaziz had his foibles as well as other men; he loved to acquire money, as a thing necessary to support that magnificence in which he lived; he had a strong passion for the fair sex, and was not without a tincture of ambition, which even the high post that he possessed could not satisfy to the full: with all these failings, he was a person of great abilities, and had address enough not only to cover his vices, but also to render them useful to his secret and important designs^k. Amongst the ladies who were brought into his seraglio was Egilona, the widow of king Roderic, for whom he had a peculiar tenderness; and he treated her with all imaginable marks of deference and respect. He fixed upon Seville for the seat of his government. After he returned thither from the progress he had made, it is said that he espoused Egilona, and, under pretence of her former quality, caused her to be treated with all the marks of duty and submission that could have been paid her if she had been still a queen. She was a princess of exquisite beauty, majestic presence, and of a high spirit, though accompanied with an affability and easiness of deportment which gained her a great ascendancy over all who approached her. It was suspected that she inspired him with an inclination to render himself

ⁱ Roder. Tolet.

^k Mariana, Ferreras.

(C) It must have been under this government, if what the Spanish historians write from the tradition of their ancestors be true, that count Julian met with the just reward of his treason against his country (1): for, the war being over, and

his intrigues no longer of any service, his advice was treated with contempt; and, upon his shewing some resentment of what he took to be ill usage, they threw him into a dungeon, and confiscated his large estates.

(1) Luc. Tudenf. Roderic Tolet. Vafæi Chron. Marian.

independent; and some writers go so far as to assert, that, at her persuasion, he in private assumed the diadem, and took, though with all the secrecy imaginable, measures for paying the way to absolute sovereignty¹.

This scheme, though managed with the utmost dexterity, could not be carried on without creating some suspicions. The principal officers among the Moors, who envied his greatness, and thought he kept them at too great a distance, began to have a strict eye on all the motions of Abdalaziz, and at length penetrated, or at least pretended to penetrate, into his scheme of revolting, in which, as they did not perceive that they were any wise to find their account, they resolved to prevent him: for that purpose they formed a project for assassinating him, as the only method that could effectually answer their intent, his credit with the army being so great, and his influence over the people so strong, as left them nothing to hope if their conspiracy was detected. This resolution once fixed, they waited only for a favourable opportunity to strike their blow; and it was not long before they met with an occasion every way suitable to their wish.

It was necessary for Abdalaziz, in order to preserve the affection of the Moors, to maintain a great shew of zeal for the Mohammedan religion: he went regularly at the proper hour to make his prayer at a certain mosque. Ayud, an ancient general, who was at the head of this plot, observing that he went thither one day almost alone, gave notice to the rest of the conspirators, who presently repaired thither, and, while he was occupied with his devotion, surrounded and dispatched him with their daggers. They had no sooner perpetrated this fact, than they caused public proclamation to be made, that he was a traitor to the khalif, and that they had put him to death only to prevent the design he had formed of usurping Spain to the prejudice of his master. At the same time, to prevent the dreadful effects of anarchy in a state so lately settled, they declared Ayud governor pro interim, till the pleasure of their sovereign should be known. This revolution was attended with little or no disorder; for the Moorish army, seeing this stroke abetted and approved by their principal officers, were silent; and as for the Goths and Spaniards, they conceived themselves very little interested in this change of masters. Ayud was a man of courage and ex-

*Abdalaziz¹
assassinated
at a mosque
while at
his devo-
tions.*

¹ Isid. Pacens. Luc. Tudens. Roder. Tolet.

perience, and, for the few months that he held the administration, behaved with vigilance and discretion; notwithstanding which, the Moorish governors, in many places, exercised great oppression, and acquired immense riches, in some measure at the expence of the khalif, whose revenues they embezzled, but chiefly by pillaging the Christians^m.

*Alahor sent
by the kha
lif to take
upon him
the govern
ment of
Spain.*

The reins of government were taken out of his hands by Alahor, upon whom the khalif bestowed that employment. This new governor began immediately to look into the conduct of his predecessors; and having clearly distinguished the errors and iniquities that had been committed, he made the first essay of his authority in doing strict justice to the khalif and to the people. He fixed the seat of his government at Cordova, and from thence issued his orders for the principal officers to attend him. When he had them thus in his power, he laid open all their acts of fraud and oppression, and caused strict restitution to be made to the Christians. He took what he could find towards reimbursing the khalif; and, where satisfaction could not be had, he caused the offenders to be publicly chastised with rods. This inquisition being finished, he ordered a general review of the army, and, under that pretence, assembled a great body of forces for an expedition which he had meditated for some time. He had received orders from the khalif Omar II. who succeeded his nephew Zuliman, to make himself master of all that the Goths had possessed in France; and the first intelligence the public had of this order was by his making an irruption into that country with the flower of the Moorish troops. He opened the campaign by wasting all the country before him with fire and sword, a devastation which spread such a terror amongst the inhabitants, that he reduced Elna, Carcassone, Ayde, Narbonne, Beziers, and Nimes, as soon as he appeared before them, and the rest of the province in the space of a few weeksⁿ. There were two things that greatly facilitated this expedition: the first, that the people had not hitherto so far recovered of their consternation, as to vest in any of their nobility the supreme command; the second, that the Franks, who might have protected them, were so involved in their in-

^m Alphons. Magn. Luc. Tudens. Vas. Chron.
Epit. Hist. Saracen. Isidor. Pacens. Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arab.

ⁿ Elmacin.

testine disputes, that they were not at leisure to look after the affairs of their neighbours.

As this expedition ascertained the conquests of the Moors, and left the Visigoths nothing of their ancient monarchy but those rough and mountainous countries which nature had fortified against all invaders, the proper business of the section ends here: nevertheless, the reader may expect we should say something more of that polity by which this nation was ruled during the space of almost three hundred and fifty years, that they remained in possession of such extensive dominions, and were justly respected as one of the greatest and most formidable powers in Europe.

He completes the subversion of the kingdom of the Visigoths.

In reference to religion, the Visigoths were Arians at the time they became masters of Spain, and so continued during the space of above one hundred and twenty-three years, till Reccared the Catholic, with the principal nobility of the nation, returned to the profession of the Christian faith at the third general council of Toledo. As the faith which they then embraced was that of the old Spanish church, which, under various difficulties and hardships, had constantly subsisted amongst the natives in general, so it was in a great measure pure and uncorrupt, very little tinged with those innovations that had crept into other churches, and as near the primitive integrity as any then in being; and so it continued to the very time of its subversion, when, though the morals of the people were corrupted, yet the doctrines of their church were sound, at least if we may judge from the canons made in their councils, from their liturgy, and from the writings of those great luminaries of the Spanish church, whom they still honour with the titles of saints. It would be no difficult matter to prove that they rejected image-worship, prayers to saints, the notion of purgatory, and auricular confession; that they gave the holy communion in both kinds, and styled the elements bread and wine, even after consecration.

The religion of that nation.

As to the civil government, it was certainly an elective and limited monarchy; for though, at their first entrance into Spain, the succession seemed to be hereditary in the line of Eudic, or Evoric, yet this was with the assent of the nobility; so that they never quitted their right of election, which was natural and inherent to them in their military capacity, by which they became conquerors and

A scheme of their civil government.

lords of Spain ^p. In process of time, this prerogative of election seems to have been confined to a kind of senate, or privy council of the nobility and prelates attending on the person of the king, and thence styléd palatines, who might, it seems, be chosen, but could not be legally removed from that authority by the prince upon the throne ^q. By their assent also the king might associate another person with him in the government, who thenceforward was considered as the apparent successor, though on the demise of a reigning prince, his title was again recognized, and sometimes even after the solemnity of his coronation confirmed in a general council, which was in fact an assembly of the states, where the palatines sat together with the prelates, and whose assent was necessary to the decrees or canons which were made in them ^r.

The prerogative of the crown very extensive.

The prerogative, or royal power of the kings of the Visigoths, was very extensive and considerable, notwithstanding they derived their title from election. They had an absolute power over the army, which they commanded in person, or intrusted with any officer of experience, as they thought proper. They called general councils, or assemblies of the states, at their pleasure, proposed, at the opening of the sessions, all points which they were to deliberate upon, and, at the close, gave a sanction to their proceedings, by subscribing their decrees. They stamped money with their own effigies, and settled its value. They bestowed all places of trust and profit, and they exercised an ecclesiastical supremacy, which was not only submitted to by the clergy separately, but owned and acknowledged by them collectively in their provincial and general councils. They had also the power of making laws, as appears by that ancient body of their laws, intitléd Fuero Juzgo, which sometimes were revised, confirmed, and published in their councils or assemblies of the states ^s.

Of the administration of justice.

The administration of justice was provided for in every district of the kingdom, where the conde, the bishop, and the guardinga, or *warden*, seem to have had a conjunct authority, as in other Gothic governments; nay, such a reverence was paid to laws, that we see that king Receswintho desired that judges might be appointed to decide between him and his subjects; and where princes exceeded their authority, or where, in compliance with their commands, any illegal acts were done, they were censured and declared void in the next council, and the best

^p Mariana, Hist. Hispana, lib. vi.
Gothica.

^r Loyasa.

^q Saavedra Corona
^s Hispana Illustrata, tom. iii.
remedies

remedies applied that the wisdom of the nation could devise. By this a noble and generous spirit of freedom was kept up, which, without intrenching on the power of the king, a circumstance equally honourable and useful, secured the people from feeling any bad effects from it; so that as the dignity of the monarch procured duty and submission from his subjects, his sense of the importance of preserving their affections obliged him to a reciprocal reverence for the nobility and the whole nation^t. This is not a notion taken up at pleasure, or from prepossession, and which we endeavour to impose upon the reader, but an observation resulting from facts, of which the reader himself must be sensible. The motive to our making this observation was to shew, that as this principle was, through the course of several reigns, the cause of happiness to the Visigoths, from that royal condescension which was the capital maxim of their wisest and best princes, yet it became, in the end, the source of their destruction. The mutual complaisance of Witiza, and the bulk of his subjects making an ill use of that amazing prosperity which a long peace, and a succession of wise administrations, had poured upon them, and which corrupted both prince and people, and, opening the flood-gates of luxury, resolved all their wishes, and softened all their passions, into a love of ease and pleasure, were alike incompatible with the true principles of piety and public spirit, and brought along with them all those evils that are the constant attendants of a preposterous desire of being perfectly happy here, which is the never-failing prelude of extreme and universal misery^u.

We may with certainty infer, from the number of bishop-ricks, in the regulation settled by Wamba, from the numberless towns mentioned in the old historians, from the ruins of places of considerable extent, which yet appear, from the various other circumstances, and more especially from the concurrence of Christian and Mohammedan authors in their relations of the state of things at the close of this period, that the Moors found Spain thoroughly peopled, excellently improved, full of cities, boroughs, and villages; and many of these adorned with fine structures, some of which, in spite of the injuries of time, and of barbarous enemies, are not wholly decayed. Now, though much might be due to the industry of the natives, to the frugality of their ancestors in former ages, and to

The great number of people, splendor, and wealth of the Visigoths.

^t Morales.

^u Mariana, Ferreras.

other incidents, of which it may be we have received little notice, yet we can scarce conceive that this should be brought about without an extensive and beneficial commerce. For, first, this has rarely happened in any country; secondly, it is unnatural to believe it of this, which lay then the most convenient of any part of Europe for carrying on foreign trade; thirdly, and which is indeed the strongest argument of all, on account of the puissant naval force which it is evident they had, and which never can be had where commerce does not flourish. This is so much the more apparent, as it is out of dispute that, even at the time they were undone, their fleet was superior to that of the Saracens. It likewise merits attention, that their seamen kept up their courage to the last. Their victorious admiral Theodomir was the only nobleman in Spain that behaved in a becoming manner, and made any struggle worth recording in defence of his country; a circumstance which justifies the foregoing observations, and, in the midst of this obscurity, furnishes us with a ray of light sufficient to discover that great part of that immense wealth, which proved the bane of this once warlike nation, and that so much enriched their plunderers, was derived from maritime traffick ^w.

In the writings of Isidorus Pacensis, whom some style bishop of Beja, and others of Bajadoz, we have an ample and affecting detail of that dreadful devastation which the Moors every where committed at their first entrance into Spain, as if their business had not been to conquer and to possess, but to dissipate and destroy; so that as this section began with representing the grandeur of the monarchy, and proceeded to shew how the country was gradually improved, and its inhabitants rendered opulent, it ends with the subversion of the one and the ruin of the other, leaving all things in a state of horror and confusion, till, out of this chaos, both the Christians and the Moors, returning to their senses, began to form themselves into regular governments, and to bend all their endeavours, which succeeded, however, but slowly, to repairing and restoring what had been so suddenly and surprisngly reduced into a state of desolation, to which history scarce affords us a parallel ^x. The history of these changes of the revival of the Gothic power, the revolutions in the Moorish administration, the principalities established by

^w Isidor. Pacens. Rod. Tolet. Morales.
Corona Gothica, Pellicer, Mondejar.

^x Saavedra

the former, the kingdoms that grew out of the latter, their perpetual contentions, which, with various turns of fortune, sometimes flattered one nation, and sometimes the other, till, by the joint efforts of force and policy, and through the over-ruling disposition of Providence, the Christians recovered their ancient dominions, and, after a long series of years, many cruel battles, and a vast effusion of human blood, at length forced the Moors utterly to abandon Spain, will be the business of succeeding sections, in which it shall be our study to represent a variety of great events as clearly and as concisely as possible, and at the same time with candour and impartiality, that this part of the Modern History, than which there is none more instructive or more pleasant, may, as far as our abilities will permit, answer the reader's expectation, and shew him all the steps by which so many kingdoms, partly by alliances, but chiefly by conquest, came to be united in the Spanish monarchy, which once threatened to extend its influence at least, if not its power, over the greatest part of Europe,

S E C T. IV.

The Revival of the Christian Power in the Asturias, with the Foundation and Progress of the Kingdom of Oviedo and Leon, through that Succession of Princes who governed this as a distinct Monarchy.

THIS period of the Spanish history may, with great reason, be styled perplexed, since as many passages in the former sections remain, through want of proper information, not a little obscure; so, in this, the variation, confusion, and contradiction, visible in writers of different nations, opposite religions, flourishing in different ages, many of them plainly partial, none free from prejudices, and all of them prone to fable and superstition, account sufficiently for that embarrassment into which most who have treated this history have fallen, and others, to avoid their misfortune, have tripped so lightly over it, that we can scarce discern any marks of their passage. We will follow better guides, and, by separating the threads which hitherto, for the sake of conciseness, more especially in general histories, have been wrought up together, we will exhibit to the reader's view each of the Christian kingdoms in Spain, in the same order in which they rose.

The difficulties attending this part of the history, and the method to avoid them.

We

A. D. 718.

*Don Pelayo
restores the
Spanish
monarchy
in the Astu-
rias.*

We have, in the last section, shewn how such of the Christians in Spain, including under that general name the descendants of the ancient Spanish nations of the Romans and Suevians, as well as the Goths, who preferred liberty, and the unrestrained exercise of their religion to the precarious possession of their properties of every kind, fled into the mountains, and, forgetting every other care, fought only to provide for their safety and freedom. We have likewise shewn, as far as the difference of opinions would permit, who that Don Pelayo was, that, by the nobility of his birth, distinguished courage, and superior capacity, recommended himself, in this distressed state of things, to the choice of his countrymen, who, according to their ancient constitution, elected him for their prince, and by that election laid the foundation of a new government in a country so well fortified by nature, that it afforded them leisure to take those steps, which without the Christian power in Spain must have been absolutely suppressed, and that country have remained perhaps till this time in the hands of the Mohammedans. At what time, or in what manner, this election was made, the reader will easily perceive it is impossible we should fix with any degree of certainty. Let it suffice then to say, after one of the most methodical of the Spanish historians, that it is highly probable this great event happened towards the close of the month of September, in the year 718^y (D).

The

^y Ferreras Hist. de Hispāna, part iv.

(D) We are told in all the Spanish histories, and very truly, that Don Pelayo was first acknowledged for a sovereign in the Asturias. Yet we cannot imagine that he became at first master of that whole country, nor ought we to believe that in process of time, and after he had gained many victories over the Moors, his territories extended no farther; neither of which are facts. But the place where he laid the foundation of his government was the little province of Liebana, which is about nine leagues in length, and four in breadth, the most inland part

of the country, full of mountains of most enormous height, and, in a word, a place so fortified by nature, that its inhabitants are at all times capable of resisting almost any number of invaders. It was from hence that, in process of time he descended into the lower and better part of the country, where he made himself master of the strong town of Gijon, seated in a peninsula, which was his first capital, and from which he borrowed his original title of king of Gijon. Afterwards he became master of all the Asturias, which word is a plural in the Spanish language, because

The news of this election were no sooner carried to Alahor, the Moorish governor-general of Spain, who, at this juncture, had taken up his winter-quarters in Gaul, than, foreseeing at once the consequences that must necessarily follow, if this new power had any time allowed for its establishment, he directed an army to be drawn out of the garrisons in Spain, and, as soon as the season would permit, caused a great part of his own to repass the mountains, giving the command of all these forces, which were very numerous, to Alchaman, a Moorish officer of great experience, who had served in Spain from the beginning of the war^z. On the other hand, Don Pelayo, perceiving clearly that the loss of a battle must be attended with the loss of all, exhorted his subjects first to address themselves to God for protection, and next to apply themselves with all imaginable precaution to defend their country against these implacable enemies to their faith and their freedom^a. He distributed his troops, which were sufficiently numerous, every subject at man's estate being a soldier, along the sides of the precipices, with strict injunctions to conceal themselves with the greatest care, and not to give the enemy the least annoyance in their passage, but to reserve themselves for one great general effort, when he should be attacked by the Moors in his head-quarters. These he placed in the ca-

*Alchaman,
invades
that coun-
try.*

^z Rod. Toletan. Historia Arabum. Luc. Tudenf. Chronicon.
^a Chron. Var. Antiq.

it is divided into two parts, Santillane and Oviedo; but the name common to both Asturias is taken from the river Astura, which runs by the walls, and bestows an appellation likewise on the city of Astorga. The inhabitants of this principality, which is always the title of the heir apparent to the crown of Spain, value themselves at this day on the purity of their blood; and some of the best families in that extensive monarchy acknowledge, or rather boast themselves, to have pro-

ceeded originally from that country; but the dominions of Pelayo stretched themselves east as well as west, and comprehended the best part of Biscay, or the ancient Cantabria, from whence came his son-in-law Alonso the Catholic, and, as the reader will perceive in the text, comprehended gradually other countries likewise, in proportion as the success of his arms made room for multitudes of distressed Christians to come and settle under his protection (1).

(1) Chronicon Adefonsi. Mag. Luc. Tudenf. Ludovici Noni Hispania, cap. xliij.

vern of Santa Maria de Cavadonga, on the side of a mountain prodigiously high, overlooking a long valley edged with precipices on both sides, into which there was no other passage than over the mountain Aufeba ^b. Alchaman having provided his army with all necessaries, passed the Rio Buegna, and began to advance slowly through the vallies, taking with him the famous false prelate Don Oppas, at the head of a body of Gothic cavalry in the service of the Moors. At first they moved with great caution; but meeting with no resistance, they marched more briskly, till having traversed the mountain Aufeba with some difficulty, they poured their numerous forces into the valley, where they had very soon intelligence that they were not far from Don Pelayo ^c. Archbishop Oppas was sent to offer him terms, which were rejected with contempt; and Don Pelayo declared plainly that he and his subjects would live or die free ^d.

A.D. 719.

The glorious victory obtained by the Christians at St. Maria de Cavadonga.

The preparations for a general attack were quickly made, and the Moors began the onset with great fury; but by a miracle, as all the Spanish historians say, perhaps through the special providence of God in bringing this important point to be decided in such a place, the darts and javelins of the Moors rebounding from the rocks fell back upon themselves, a circumstance which threw them into some confusion, out of which Don Pelayo did not suffer them to recover. Persuading his troops that God fought for them, he issued from his post with such impetuous valour, that the Mohammedans, unable to sustain the charge, began to recoil; upon which the troops placed in ambuscade on each side of the valley, rolled down the fragments of the rocks upon their heads; and the slaughter ensuing upon this victory flew the valley, where it was gained, with the dead bodies of one hundred and twenty-four thousand Infidels. Alchaman himself fell amongst the first, and Don Oppas, being taken prisoner, met with a death which would have been cruel, if he who suffered it had not been a traitor to his country. The poor remains of this army repassed the mountain Aufeba with the utmost precipitation. Descending through the narrow passes of Amosa, they entered the territory of Liebana, and, beginning to coast the river Deva, thought themselves safe from the arms of the Christians; but here they met with a new misfortune, which might be justly styled miracu-

^b Vassæ Hispaniæ Chronicon.

^c Chron. Var. Antiq.

^d Luc. Tudens. Chron.

lous ; for part of the mountain overlooking that river fell down upon them, and partly overwhelming, partly stopping the channel, raised the waters so high that the rest were drowned ^d.

The news of this dreadful defeat being carried to Muzza, who commanded the next Moorish garrison established at Gijon, he judged that the wisest step he could take was to march out with his forces, and endeavour to recover some post of greater strength ; but before he was able to put his design in execution, Don Pelayo, with his victorious army, fell upon him in the valley of Olalles, three leagues below the place where the city of Oviedo now stands, and cut the greatest part of these troops to pieces ^e. By this victory, and the right use he made of it, Don Pelayo cleared the Asturias effectually from all Moors, except such as he reduced into a state of slavery, and established such a reputation as, during the remainder of his reign, served him instead of an army. He did not, however, become either insolent or indolent in consequence of his victories ; on the contrary, he employed the leisure they procured him to great and glorious purposes : he built some towns in convenient places ; he restored others that were almost ruined ; he repaired many that were inclining to decay, and founded and rebuilt churches in them all ^f. But he walled none of his towns, he fortified no passes, he did not erect a castle throughout his dominions ; for he knew that while his people were brave, their country would be safe, and he was unwilling to pave the way for the loss of virtue, by providing for their security ^g.

There was indeed another circumstance that contributed not a little to the tranquility of his territories. The Moorish governors perceived the great risk they ran in leading numerous armies into so rough a country ; and being also satisfied that there was nothing to be got, if it was conquered, but rocks and mountains, a few homely hamlets and paltry villages, they thought it better to employ their arms against Gaul ; which humour continued, or rather was augmented, by the repeated checks they received in those attempts ; the providing for which obliged them to levy such heavy taxes in Spain as proved the cause of frequent insurrections ^h, and at length of civil wars

Don Pelayo's second victory over the Moors.

^d Luc. Tudenf. Chron. ^e Chron. Var. Antiq. ^f Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv. Vasæi Hispan. Chronicon. ^g Chron. Var. Antiq. ^h Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

amongst themselves. All these circumstances contributed to leave Don Pelayo in quiet; and he improved this season so well in the restitution of the ancient government in all its branches, that great numbers of Christians retired privately out of the Moorish provinces, in order to put themselves under his protection. His new towns were quickly peopled by persons of the better sort, because they were most exposed to hardships and ill usage from the vices, caprices, and misunderstandings, of the Moorish governors, who, as they knew they were not to remain long, were always in great haste to be rich ^l.

*His family,
death, and
place of in-
terment.*

Don Pelayo also discovered great prudence in the settlement of his family. He had by his queen Gaudiofa two children, the prince Favila, and the princess Ormisinda. He procured the former to be associated with him in the government by the consent of the nobility, and gave the latter in marriage to Don Alonso, the son of Pedro duke of Cantabria, descended, as the Spanish writers affirm, from king Reccared. However that matter may be, he is universally allowed to have been a person of great accomplishments, and to have merited the honour done him by Don Pelayo by his services both in peace and in war. That monarch having attained to a good old age, and having governed the remains of the Christians in Spain, with uninterrupted prosperity, for nineteen years, deceased, as the Spanish writers say, September the 18th, 737, and was buried in the church of Santa Olalla de Velana, in the territory of Cangas, which was of his own foundation. He had the satisfaction of leaving his people in as happy and flourishing a condition as, the state considered in which he found them, he had any reason to expect or desire, leaving behind him a reputation that will last at least as long as that vast monarchy, the basis of which was laid by his valour and virtues ^k.

*Don Favila
succeeds his
father,
and, after
a short
reign, is
killed by a
bear.*

Don Favila, who had for some time shared the administration with his father, succeeded him without the least opposition, and held the reins of government but a very little time. He has a very different character given him by the Spanish historians, particularly Mariana and Ferreras. The former says he was a light, indolent, and luxurious prince, having no resemblance to Don Pelayo; and that he kept his dominions through the ill management and inactivity of the Moors, rather than through any prudence or other great qualities of his own. The

^l Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

^k Vasæi Chron.

latter assures us, that his courage was great, and his conduct unimpeached; that he was the worthy successor of his noble father; that he defended his dominions gallantly against the Moors; and governed his subjects with mildness and discretion. The plain truth of the matter is, that we have no just foundation either for these or for any other character of this prince; all we know of him is, that he lies buried in the church of Santa Cruz, in the territory of Cangas, of which he was founder, and where there is an old inscription remaining that tells posterity thus much; and farther, that his wife's name was Froleva, by whom he had several children¹; but either they died before him, or Mariana was mistaken in saying that he left no issue. His end was very unfortunate; for while he was hunting, a bear rushed upon him, and gave him a mortal wound, before any of his attendants could come up to his assistance. This melancholy event happened in the year 739. His corpse was interred in the church before mentioned; and the peasants have put up a cross on, or at least near, the place where he received his wound.

The nobility, upon his demise, made choice of Don Alonso, the brother-in-law of the deceased monarch, and the son-in-law of Don Pelayo, a prince of an heroic spirit, born to repair the losses of his country². In the third year of his reign, perceiving that the Moors were extremely weakened by their civil wars, he assembled an army, and, with his brother Froila, passing the mountains, fell into the northern part of Galicia, where finding no considerable resistance, he carried all before him till he came to Lugo, where the infidels made some defence; notwithstanding which he soon made himself master of the place, and, in this single campaign, recovered the best part of Galicia. Next year he fell with his army into the plains of Leon and Castile; and, before the Moors could assemble a force capable of looking him in the face, reduced Astorgas, Leon, Saldagna, Montes de Oca, Amaya, Alava, and all the country at the foot of the mountains; in which expedition his army amassed a prodigious booty. The year following he was in the field again, and pushed his conquests as far as the frontiers of the country now styled Portugal; and in his next campaign, he ravaged all the country as far as the mountains that separate the two

A. D. 742.

*Don Alonso
succeeds to
the crown.*

¹ Chron. Var. Antiq.
Hispaniæ Chronicon.

² Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vaszi

Castilesⁿ. If his activity and success in war procured him justly the title of a great captain, he had an equal claim to that of a consummate politician, from the manner in which he improved his victories.

He improves his dominions.

He was sensible that he wanted strength sufficient to preserve the flat country, and therefore he ruined and destroyed it, obliging all the Christians that were settled there to retire into his dominions, into which he carried many thousands of Moors, whom he made slaves. The low country being thus left unpeopled and destroyed, the harvest failed, and the infidels found enough to do to defend themselves against famine at home, without attempting to follow him into his dominions^o. But when he had availed himself sufficiently of these maxims, and found his country thoroughly peopled, and his subjects in a condition to occupy and defend part of the flat country, which he had reduced, he suffered them to extend themselves pretty far into Galicia, and also to rebuild Leon, Astorga, and some other places; so that, at the time of his demise, he left his territories much extended, and his subjects in a far better state than at his accession to the throne^p. He deceased in the year 757, and was buried near his queen Ormisinda, in the monastery of Santa Maria de Cangas, leaving behind him two sons by that princess, Don Froila and Don Bimarano, and a natural son by a Moorish woman, who, for that reason, was called Mauregato. This monarch, for his great zeal expressed in building Christian churches and destroying mosques, obtained the surname of Catholic, which, from the time of Reccared, had not been used by any of his predecessors.

His son Don Froila succeeds him.

The nobility held themselves so much obliged to their late king, that they made no difficulty of raising his son Don Froila to the throne, who, at the beginning of his reign, is said to have distinguished himself by his zeal for religion, through his future conduct shewed that he had less of that than any of the three princes who had reigned before him. It seems he was scandalized at the thoughts of having any to serve in his churches but unmarried clergymen; and therefore, whether with or without the

ⁿ Mariana Historia General de Hispana, lib. vii. Ferreras Historia de Hispana, p. iv. Mayerne Turquet Histoire Generale d'Espagne, livr. vi. ^o Luc. Tudent. Chron. Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hisp. lib. iv. ^p Chron. Var. Antiq. ^q Vaf. Annal.

consent of his bishops does not clearly appear, he compelled those who were married to separate from their wives, and forbid their entering into the state of matrimony for the future, under severe penalties. This edict, Ferreras assures us, procured him the blessings of all honest people, and the hatred of the far greater part of the clergy. But while he was thus employed, and perhaps because he was thus employed, the inhabitants of Alava and part of Navarre, which his father had subdued, took up arms; but he quickly reduced them, and punished the ringleaders of the revolt. Among the prisoners he found a young lady, exquisitely beautiful, whom Mariana calls Monina, and makes her the daughter of the duke of Aquitaine; but other writers content themselves with commending her person, without acquainting us of her family or name^a. This lady the king married, and had by her Don Alonso, of whom we shall have much to say. About this time the disputes that had so long disturbed the Moors were composed, or rather removed, by Abderrahman's establishing himself as an independent monarch, and fixing the seat of his government at Cordova; which event could not but prove very prejudicial to the Christians.

This prince assumed the title of Almir Amuminim, which the Spaniards commonly, though corruptly, call Miramamolín, the sense of which is, *commander of the faithful*; a title implying his claim to the khalifat, or Mohammed's lieutenant, by which he pretended not only to the sole and absolute dominion over all the Mohammedans in Spain, but expected a like submission from the Christians, whom he considered only as rebels, that had hitherto maintained themselves in a state of independency through the divisions that reigned amongst their masters^b. He caused therefore a great army to assemble in that part of Portugal which was under his obedience; and having given the command of it to Haumar, directed him to reduce Don Froila; with which view he invaded his territories that lay nearest to him^c. The Christian monarch had not been a supine spectator of the great military preparations amongst the infidels; on the contrary, he had drawn together the force of his dominions, and having suffered the enemy to advance into Galicia as far as a place called Pontumo, he there attacked them with such vigour and judgment, that he gained a complete victory, killed fifty-

Gains a complete victory over the Moors.

^a Chron. Var. Antiq. ^b Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.
^c Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vazzi Chron.

four thousand men upon the spot, and, having taken their general prisoner, caused him to be put to death^t.

*Founds the
city of
Oviedo.*

This victory was as wisely improved as it was courageously obtained; for the king employed the greatest part of that wealth which was found in the enemy's camp, and raised in contributions after the defeat, in building the city of Oviedo, which he resolved to make the capital of his dominions, in order to be in a better condition to defend the flat country, which he now determined to people (E). He there erected also a bishop's see, and covered the place till it was in a state of defence with such a force as prevented the Moors from giving him any disturbance. Abderrahman, in the mean time, turned his arms against those Moorish provinces that had revolted upon the defeat which his forces had received from the Christians, and in the course of several years, not without a great effusion of blood on both sides, reduced them at length under his obedience. After these achievements, having a numerous and victorious army under his command, he made an irruption in person, on the side of Castile, into the territories of Don Froila, who suffered him to advance till he began to enter the rough country, and then gave him so severe a check, that Abderrahman was inclined to conclude a truce with him, being thoroughly convinced that it was to no purpose to attempt the conquest of a country fortified by nature, and defended by a numerous and martial people. Upon the first appearance of this invasion, Don Froila had summoned the Galicians, amongst the rest of his subjects, to march to his assistance, a call which they neglected. Having now leisure to make them feel the weight of his resentment, he directed his march into that country, defeated and dispersed the rebels, and afterwards made so many and so severe examples, as not only frightened the inhabitants of that province, but raised an universal discontent amongst his subjects; so that nothing was more visible than that they obeyed him not through reverence or affection, but merely from fear.

^t Chron. Var. Antiq.

(E) It is generally believed that this city was raised upon the ruins of places known in the time of the Romans by the names of Asturum, Lucus, and Brigacium. It stands very pleasantly, five leagues to the south of Gijon, between the rivers Ove and Deva; from whence its modern Latin name Ovetum, as well as its Spanish, Oviedo.

At

At his return to Oviedo, Don Froila could not help perceiving to how great a degree he had lost the hearts of his people; and as this discovery increased the natural fierceness of his temper, so he could not help seeing with regret the different conduct of his brother Don Bimaran, and the universal spirit of affection which it produced. This comparison by degrees raised such a tempest in his bosom, that, forgetting his own dignity, the ties of nature, and the dictates of religion, he went to the palace of that young prince, and, under pretence of conferring with him upon matters of importance, stabbed him to the heart with his dagger. This unnatural and brutal act alarmed the nobility to such a degree, that, believing none could be safe under a prince of such a suspicious and sanguinary temper, they resolved, for their own security, to remove him out of the way. Having concerted this design with the utmost secrecy, it was not long before they found an opportunity of putting it in execution: a bold assassin stabbed him at a private audience, and the people, instead of avenging their sovereign, congratulated each other upon their being delivered from a blood-thirsty tyrant. Thus fell Don Froila in the prime of his life, when he had held the reins of government somewhat more than eleven years, and was buried in the church of Oviedo, which he founded in the year 768 *. All the Spanish historians agree that he was a prince of invincible courage, very zealous against the Mohammedans, and endowed with many excellent qualities; but Mariana goes beyond them much in extolling his piety, in proof of which he insists chiefly upon his inflexibility with regard to the married clergy, his severity in exterminating the Moors †, as far as it lay in his power, and his many religious foundations, which, with him, sufficiently excuses all his other failings, and even that spirit of cruelty and resentment, which certainly could not be pleasing in the sight of God; for it rendered him universally odious amongst men, and, as we shall see hereafter, excited such an apprehension of a like disposition in his son, as hindered that prince, though, in reality, one of the best and most amiable of any that flourished in his time, from ascending the throne so soon as otherwise he might have done. It exposed the whole nation to those losses and inconveniences which are commonly the lot of people divided into factions, and who, in reality, pursue private interest under the plausible pretence of a zealous regard for the public good.

Becomes tyrannically cruel.

* Chron. Var. Ant. † Hist. General de Hispania, lib. vii.

Don Aurelio, his cousin, succeeds him.

The nobility, upon this vacancy, placed Don Aurelio, whom some historians make the brother of the deceased prince, but who, with greater probability, is held to be the son of his father's brother Froila. He appears to have been a prince either naturally of a mild and sweet temper, or prudent enough to take warning from his predecessor's misfortune. His first care was to renew the peace with the Miramamolin, in which he found no great difficulty, for this measure was as necessary to that monarch's affairs as his own; and this once done, he addressed himself with great application to regulate the interior of his dominions. But while he was thus employed, himself and his subjects fell suddenly into the most imminent danger, from a cause that had never provoked so much as a suspicion. The Moorish slaves, with which their victories had furnished them in great numbers, and who had been hitherto very kindly treated, revolted all at once, and assembled together in arms. This rebellion must have been attended with fatal consequences, if it had been delayed till the martial temper of the Christians had been a little softened through prosperity and peace; but falling out at this time, when there was a perfect understanding between the sovereign and his subjects, they were quickly defeated and subdued; so that it proved most fatal to themselves, as they were deprived by law of those indulgencies which hitherto they had enjoyed, and which they had so ungratefully abused^y. This was the only remarkable event of his reign; for Don Aurelio having no children of his own, and his brother Don Bermudo having taken deacon's orders, the chief object he had in view was to pass his days quietly. For this purpose, he cast his eyes upon Silo, the wealthiest and most potent of the Gothic nobility, to whom he gave his cousin Adosinda in marriage, and admitted him to a large share in the administration; an expedient which had the desired effect, and kept him free from disturbance during the remaining part of his reign. He breathed his last in the year 774, in the seventh year of his reign, and was buried in the church of St. Martin's, about fifteen miles from Oviedo, which was of his own foundation^z.

Don Silo mounts the throne.

According to his own plan, the late king was succeeded in the throne by Don Silo, who had married his relation. This prince is thought to have descended from the Moors,

^y Chron. Var. Antiq. Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv.
^z Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Vassæ Hist. panie Chron.

because of a remark in an old chronicle, that, on the score of his mother, the peace of the king of Cordova was without difficulty renewed. He prosecuted the same scheme of government that had been introduced by Don Aurelio; while queen Adosinda, with a laudable vigilance, superintended the education of Don Alonso, her cousin, whom she regarded as a prince that ought one day to wear the crown, and whom she therefore endeavoured to render worthy of it, by appointing him proper masters, and superintending his education. But while all was quiet at court, the Galicians, for what cause is not recorded, took up arms, upon which Don Silo marched against them with a numerous army; and though they had taken care to entrench themselves strongly on the top of a high mountain, yet he attacked and forced their camp, dissipated their army, put a few of their chiefs to death, and returned in triumph to Pravia, which he had made the capital of his dominions. He passed the remainder of his days in quiet, if we except heresies that sprung up in the church, with which, notwithstanding the bad example of some bishops, the court remained uninfected. He founded the church of St. John de Pravia, in which, after having worn the crown for nine years, he was, at his decease, interred in the beginning of the year 783, without leaving any issue ^a (F).

A. D. 779.

On the decease of her husband, queen Adosinda, with the consent of some of the principal nobility, caused her

*Don Mau-
regato
usurps the
crown from
his grand-
son.*

^a Mariana Hist. Gen. de Hispan. Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. Chron. Var. Antiq. Rod. Toletan. Vassæi Chron.

(F) What we have said in the text of his place of residence and interment, is supported by good authorities; and yet the current of historians agree, that he built the splendid church of San Salvador in Oviedo; and that his tomb stands at the entrance near the great gate, with these three words inscribed thereupon, viz. "Silo princeps fecit," in so whimsical a manner that it may be read two hundred and seventy ways. At the bottom of this tomb stand

the following capitals, H. S. E. S. S. S. T. L. which implies, *Hic situs est Silo. Sit sibi terra levis; that is, Here Silo lies; let earth lie upon him light.* It seems, as he made no figure in his life-time, he was desirous of distinguishing himself at his death by this tomb and inscription; and yet it is probable he changed his mind, and directed his corpse to be buried in the church of St. John at Pravia, which was likewise of his foundation.

-nephew Don Alonso, now in the eighteenth or nineteenth year of his age, to be declared king. But notwithstanding the personal good qualities of that young prince, it very soon appeared that the people in general had an aversion to him from the dread they were under that he might one day prove of the same disposition with his father. This aversion was so artfully contrived by his uncle Mauregato, that, with very little difficulty, he supplanted him in the throne, Don Alonso himself declaring that he would never reign over an unwilling people; and retiring to his own estate in Biscay, the populace, who had rejected him for their king, insisted that he should be left there in safety and in peace; neither does it appear that his uncle, though he was not either a good man or a good king, ever attempted any thing to his prejudice, but rather wished he might prove his successor^b. The new king, in support of his title, had brought an army of Moors into his country, and lived always in such intelligence with the Miramamolin, as rendered him suspected and despised by his subjects. Some historians assert, that he became tributary to him, and yielded the Miramamolin annually one hundred beautiful virgins for his seraglio, which circumstance as it has very much the air of fable, so the most judicious critics are of opinion that it was really such, and had no other foundation than his encouraging marriages between Moors and Christians, of which, if we consider his own birth, we may easily discern the spring^c. How much soever they disliked, his subjects were afraid to disobey him, because of his close alliance with the Miramamolin; and therefore he remained in quiet possession of the throne to the time of his decease, which was in the month of July, in the year 788, in the sixth year of his reign, much less regretted than any of his predecessors^d.

Don Bermudo accepts the sovereignty.

Upon this vacancy of the throne, the nobility, who doubted what the consequence might have been of restoring Alonso, made choice of Don Bermudo, who, though he had received deacon's orders, was married, and had children. It is however highly probable, that this step was taken with the approbation, it may be at the desire, of Don Alonso; for, as soon as Don Bermudo was seated on the throne, he sent for that prince, brought him into his councils, and, when he saw the distaste of the people gra-

^b Rod. Totelan. de Rebus Hisp. lib. iv.
Gen. de Hispana, lib. vii.
Annal.

^c Mariana Hist.

^d Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vasæ

dually subside, intrusted him with the command of the troops. It was not long before an occasion offered to shew the virtues of that young prince in a proper point of light. Islem, king of Cordova, either prompted by ambition, or displeased at finding in the new king much less complaisance than in his predecessor, invaded his territories with a numerous army of Moors, against whom the king Don Bermudo marched in person, accompanied by his cousin Don Alonso. The armies met at a town called Bureba, in the neighbourhood of Burgos; and an obstinate engagement ensued, in which at length the Christians were victorious, and the Moors defeated with great slaughter. As the prince Don Alonso distinguished himself extremely upon this occasion, he was not only complimented at his return by the nobility, who were ever well inclined to him, but received with universal acclamations by the people; which the king no sooner perceived, than he declared his resolution to abdicate in his favour; and, the nobility having approved this measure, he publicly resigned the crown, but his successor would never permit him to leave the palace, where he lived as a private man, but in the strictest friendship with the king Don Alonso, to the time of his death^e.

Don Alonso, the second of that name, who, from the great purity of his life and manners, was surnamed El Casto, or *the Chaste*, was declared king by election, on the voluntary abdication of his predecessor, September 14, 791^f, and in a short time after transferred the court to Oviedo, where he repaired and beautified the church which his father had founded, applying himself with great diligence to correct the errors that had in process of time crept into the government, and labouring to the utmost of his power to make his subjects of all ranks and conditions live quietly and happily, in a manner agreeable to their several stations. In the third year of his reign, Islem, king of Cordova, thinking his friendship neglected, and hoping that his veteran and victorious army might enable him to recover part, at least, of the flat country from the Christians, ordered a numerous army to assemble in Portugal, with instructions to march at a proper season of the year into the territories of Don Alonso. Accordingly, under the command of Macheit, an experienced general,

Alonso II.

^e Mariana, Hist. General de Hispana, lib. vii. Ferreras, Hist. de Hispana, part iv. Mayerne Turquet, Histoire Generale d'Espagne, livre vi.

^f Ibidem ibid.

they entered Galicia, as they thought, by surprize, because they met with no Christian troops to oppose them; but when they had reached Lodos, and found themselves entangled in a morass, they were quickly attacked by king Alonso and his troops, who, by their perfect knowledge of the ground, as well as by their superior valour, gained a complete victory, in which there were sixty thousand either killed upon the field of battle, or drowned or choked in the bogs; a loss which threw such a damp on the spirit of the infidels, as prevented them from giving Don Alonso any trouble for several years afterwards; so that he was enabled to finish entirely those regulations which he had so happily begun, and which contributed not a little to the welfare and prosperity of his subjects^e.

*His victory
over the
Moors.*

Upon the demise of Islem, king of Cordova, a new civil war breaking out among the Moors, the succession of his son Alhacan being contested by his two uncles, Don Alonso did not let slip so favourable an opportunity, but employed it in repeopling the city of Braga. While those he brought to inhabit it were occupied in rebuilding it, he made an incursion with his forces into the territory of the Moors, and, having defeated their forces, advanced as far as Lisbon, which he took by storm, and then returned to Braga with a very rich booty, and a great multitude of slaves. The very same year he sent a most splendid embassy to the emperor Charlemagne, with very rich presents; amongst the rest a magnificent tent, eight mules very richly harnessed and adorned, and eight slaves, who were appointed to conduct them. The ambassadors were most honourably entertained, and the presents they brought very kindly received, the emperor promising to give their master, upon all occasions, marks of his esteem and confidence; which assurances were so much the more welcome, as this monarch had made great conquests upon the Moors, and was at that time master of several very important fortresses in Spain^b. As a farther mark of his piety and generosity, Don Alonso erected, in the great church of Oviedo, a noble cross of gold, and thereupon inscribed the date of the year, which, as it is still remaining, is considered as a venerable monument of antiquity by such learned Spaniards as are addicted to that study^c. Ferreras, amongst others, assures us, that he went thither on purpose to see it, and that he found the date of the

^e Luc. Tudens. Chron. Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arabum.
^f Hispaniæ Chronicon. ^g Historia de España, pars iv.

^b Vassæ

Spanish æra to be 836, though it had been otherwise reported by Morales^k.

An obstinate and bloody war broke out between Lewis, king of Aquitain, son to the emperor Charlemagne, and the Moors, in which the former attacked Barcelona, which was not only gallantly defended, but a powerful army sent to its relief by Alhacan, though without effect; to repair which disgrace, those forces, passing up the Ebro by Saragossa, fell suddenly into the dominions of Don Alonso, and committed great ravages in Biscay, and in the mountains of Burgos. The king marched against them with a considerable army, and, having forced the Moors to a general engagement, obtained a complete victory; but as human prosperity is ever deceitful, to this gleam of good fortune proved but the prelude to an unexpected calamity. There still remained in his dominions a great number of malcontents, who, upon this occasion, had taken arms, and made the greater part of the king's forces: these, immediately after the victory, turned upon their sovereign, and endeavouring to seize his person, in which design, by their superiority to those who were well affected, they succeeded, and, having deposed the king, carried him to the monastery of Abelia, into which they thrust him as a prisoner. This account is, indeed, dark and perplexed; an obscurity which must be excused, since there is no better to be had, because the Spanish historians are, of all others, the least inclined to perpetuate the memory of rebellions.

This defection, however great, was not general; and though the rebels, by managing their design with great secrecy, and being first in arms, appeared very formidable; yet when those who were loyal to their prince, came to re-collect themselves, and saw plainly, that, though the people submitted to, they took no pleasure in this revolution, it induced them to contrive in their own minds a new change of affairs. Amongst those who were in these honest and honourable sentiments^l, was one Theudis, a man of great quality, whose numerous alliances gave him a general influence over his relations and neighbours. He made use of this to persuade them, that it would be no difficult thing, to take the king out of the monastery where the rebels had placed him, and to set him again upon the throne. As they concurred upon the first motion, the thing was executed almost as soon as concerted: the peo-

Alonso gains another victory.

A. D. 836.

Restored to his dominions.

^k Ambrosia Morales, *Chronica General de Hispania*, p. 355.
^l Roderic Tolet de Reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

A. D. 802.

ple rising in multitudes, as soon as they appeared in arms, they brought the king out of the monastery, and carried him in triumph to Oviedo, where he resumed the regal dignity, and, by his clemency towards the conspirators, extinguished at once a faction that might have proved very troublesome, if he had treated them with severity. The war continuing between the French and the infidels, by sea as well as land, Don Alonso took occasion from thence to execute all the designs he had before formed in their utmost extent, by which his dominions were very much improved, and the force of the monarchy rendered much greater than at the time of his accession: but a peace being at length concluded between the two nations before mentioned, Albacan took that opportunity of raising a great army, which, under the command of Almacan, passed the Duero, and fell into the territories of Alonso, whose policy now suffered some alteration; for he no longer permitted the Moors to ravage a country which he had been at so much pains to people, but gave them battle as soon as possible, in which he gained a glorious and most important victory^m. The next year, another army, under the command of Omar, again entered his dominions, and were again defeated; upon which a truce ensued, which gave Don Alonso leisure to pursue his wife and pious designs for securing his dominions, and gaining new advantages to his subjects.

*The infidels
invade his
territories.*

A. D. 816.

The true design of this cessation, on the part of the infidels, was only to gain an opportunity of surprising the Christians, as appeared plainly by an irruption of their's, under the command of Abdalcarin, in the year ensuing. After having wasted the adjacent country, he formed the siege of Calhorra, a place of great consequence, and of which he was in hopes of becoming master before Don Alonso should be in a condition to give him any disturbance; but in this hope he found himself mistaken; for the place made a vigorous defence, which gave the king sufficient time to march to its relief; and Abdalcarin, not caring to trust the issue of a battle, raised the siege, and retired. All these repeated disappointments discouraged Alhacan, king of Cordova, so much, that he remained quiet for several years. At length he resumed his design of recovering at least some part of the countries which had been taken from him. To facilitate this design, he divided his forces into two considerable armies, one under the command of Ala-

^m Luc. Tudenfis Chronicon, Vasæi Hispaniæ Chron.

bez, the other under Melic, both his near relationsⁿ. They entered Galicia by different routes, destroying the country without mercy. These disorders, however, did not last long, for the king, at the head of one army, and his cousin Don Ramiro with another, quickly gave a check to the infidels, and gained two signal victories^o on the same day, which soon delivered that province from the fury of the infidels, and left the king at liberty to proceed in his care of civil and ecclesiastical concerns.

A. D. 821.

A new civil war broke out amongst the Moors upon the death of Alhacan, king of Cordova, and, amongst others who revolted from his son Abderrahman II. was Mahamut, governor of Merida, an officer of great valour and experience, who, having a numerous garrison, believed it possible for him to render himself independent. Abderrahman, either moved by the importance of the place, or desirous of making a particular example of Mahamut, marched against him immediately with a very formidable army, and, though he defended himself with great skill and courage, and sometimes also with considerable advantage, yet, perceiving his troops gradually diminish, and knowing that he had no resource if the place was once invested, he threw himself, with all his adherents, into the dominions of Don Alonso, and demanded his protection^p. That monarch, knowing him to be a brave man, and an able officer, readily granted his request, and appointed him and his troops to defend the frontiers of Portugal^q, without taking any umbrage at their remaining Mohammedans. After he had acquitted himself with great honour for near seven years in the discharge of this trust, Mahamut set on foot some intrigues for reconciling himself to Abderrahman; suggesting, that, if he would furnish him with a sufficient number of troops, he would infallibly put into his hands the whole province of Galicia. This proposal was too advantageous to be rejected: the troops being furnished that he desired, Mahamut put himself at the head of them as well as his own, and marched directly to the castle of St. Christina, which is within a very small distance of Lugo, by which all the adjacent country was put under contribution.

*Don Alonso
relieves
Mahamut,*

A. D. 824.

On the first news of so extraordinary an event, the king dispatched his orders to the prince Don Ramiro, to throw himself immediately into Lugo, with all the troops under his command. The king soon after joined him with a

*Vanquishes
the Moors.*

ⁿ Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arab. ^o Chron. Var. Antiq. ^p Vassæi Hispaniæ Chron. ^q Chron. Var. Antiq.

much more considerable body of men; and, immediately after this junction was made, they marched with their whole army against the infidels. Mahamut was much superior in number, made a fine disposition of his troops, received the Christians with great firmness and intrepidity; but being slain * in the very beginning of the action, and his head presented on the point of a lance to the king, the infidels soon fell into confusion; so that in the battle, and in the pursuit, they lost fifty thousand men. The castle was also immediately surrendered, in which they found spoils to an immense value. The king was also victorious in some other engagements, which effectually quelled the spirit of the infidels. Don Alonso, finding himself weak and infirm through age, and the great fatigues he had endured, summoned an assembly of the states, to whom he recommended his cousin Don Ramiro for his successor, and, upon his election, resigned to him the administration, when he had reigned, after his last accession to the throne, near forty-four years. He survived, after this, to the year 842, and then expired †, at the age of seventy-seven, universally regretted by his subjects, and with the highest reputation of any monarch of his time.

A. D. 825.

Don Ramiro succeeds, in spite of an insurrection in favour of Nepotian.

At the time of the old monarch's decease Don Ramiro was in the country of Alava; a circumstance which afforded an opportunity to count Nepotian, an artful and ambitious nobleman ‡, to persuade several persons of high distinction, to whom he made large promises, that, with their assistance, he could maintain himself upon the throne, and thereby defeat the former election of Don Ramiro, and the late disposition in his favour by king Alonso: they, being seduced by his fair speeches, gave him the title of king, and raised an army with an intention to support his title; but Don Ramiro, as soon as he had intelligence of this defection, hastened into Galicia, and assembled a good body of forces at Lugo, and from thence marched towards the frontiers of the Asturias †. Count Nepotian, having, partly by money, partly by violence, drawn together a great number of troops in the neighbourhood of Oviedo, began to move very readily, in order to give the king battle, at as great a distance as might be from the capital. When the two armies were in sight, he quickly discerned how much he had deceived himself with respect to his interest in the army; for the troops deserted to Don Ramiro * in such numbers, that, seeing himself on the point of

A. D. 843.

* Roderic Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

† Vasæi Chron.

‡ Roder. Santii Hist. Hispaniæ, pars iii.

* Luc. Tudens. Chron.

* Chron. Var. Antiq.

being abandoned, he placed all his hopes of safety in his flight; on which two of the great lords, who had been deepest in his treason, pursued, made him prisoner, and brought him in that condition to the king, who ordered that, his eyes being first put out, he should be confined for life in a monastery; and thus, the rebellion being entirely crushed, Don Ramiro entered in triumph into Oviedo.

Don Ramiro found himself obliged to begin his reign ^y with some necessary acts of severity; for, on the one hand, the roads were infested by robbers, and on the other, many in the villages, through an excessive superstition, abandoned themselves to sorcery. As to the former, as fast as they could be taken, he condemned them to lose their eyes: and the latter, as they fell into the hands of justice, were committed to the flames. These intestine troubles were succeeded by an unexpected foreign invasion. The Normans, who at that time infested all the maritime provinces of Europe, made a descent at Corunna, and began, according to their usual custom, to waste all the adjacent country with fire and sword; but Don Ramiro ^z, marching against them with a potent army, took his measures with so much prudence, that he routed these barbarous invaders with a prodigious slaughter, took great numbers of them prisoners, and burnt the best part of their fleet; which reception so frightened those barbarians, that, though they long troubled those parts of Spain that were under the dominion of the Moors, they never ventured to make any descent on the territories of Don Ramiro, which gained him great reputation and respect amongst his neighbours: yet this could not secure him quiet at home, where two great lords ^a, honoured with employments of high importance, and who had daily access to the king's person, formed a conspiracy against him, and, upon its being discovered, broke out into an open revolt. However, through the courage and conduct of the king, they were quickly reduced, the former being punished with the loss of his sight, and the latter, with his seven sons, all suffered death, not by the sole will and pleasure of the king, but by the solemn judgment of the states ^b.

A. D. 844:

A. D. 845.

Abderrahman II. king of Cordova, believing, or pretending to believe, that Don Ramiro had excited the Nor-

*A glorious
victory ob-
tained over
the Moors.*

^y Mariana, Hist. Gen. de Hispana, lib. vii. Ferreras, Hist. de Hispana, p. iv. ^z Chron. Var. Antiq. ^a Luc. Tudens. Chron.

^b Rod. Islet. de Rebus Hispan. liv. iv. Vassæi Chron.

mans to those frequent descents on his dominions, having intelligence of the troubles that had broke out in the Asturias, invaded the dominions of Don Ramiro with his whole force ^c. The king, who had just vanquished his rebels, and had a numerous body of forces in the field, did not allow the enemy much time to make conquests, but, marching directly towards them, engaged and defeated them with prodigious effusion of blood. In this glorious action, his brother Don Garcias, and his son Don Ordogno, were present, and distinguished themselves exceedingly, which gave the king an opportunity of recommending the latter ^d to the favour of the nobility, who, to reward his courage, and to give the king the highest proof of their affection and esteem, elected that young prince his coadjutor and successor. Ferreras places the conspiracy of count Piniolo after this election, which he supposes to have been his chief motive; and, if this be admitted, it will account for that difference in punishment which this unhappy man and his family sustained, inasmuch as the king's clemency was now quite worn out. It was not long after this, that Abderrahman ^e made another irruption into the territories of Don Ramiro, in which war that illustrious monarch gained the most signal victory in his whole reign, and this, as some modern historians ^f assert, in the plains of Clavijo, with the assistance of St. James, the great patron of Spain, who not only encouraged the king in a dream before the fight, but was likewise present in person on a white horse: they likewise pretend, that the king made a vow upon this occasion, by which he charged all the lands in Spain with an annual tribute to the church of that apostle at Compostella; but wiser writers ^g of that nation have not scrupled to acknowledge, that all this is mere romance, and that it may be proved so from those very charters and records to which the patrons of this tale refer us for the most authentic proofs of its veracity.

A. D. 849.

The king, now far advanced in years, was attentive chiefly to his domestic concerns, establishing ecclesiastical and charitable foundations, conciliating thereby the affections of the clergy, nobility, and people, in order to pave the way for Don Ordogno's quiet possession of the kingdom, when, in the midst of these labours, death re-

^c Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arabum.
Vasæi Chron.

^e Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arabum.
Tudens. Chronicon.

^d Luc. Tudens Chron.

^f Luc.

^g Vasæi Hispaniæ Chronicon.

lived him from his fatigues ^d, on the 1st of February, in the year 850. His body was interred in the church of Santa Maria in Oviedo, together with those of his queens Paterna and Urraca, and his brother Don Garcias, after having governed with great glory to himself, and no less advantage to his subjects, seven years complete, leaving them in a state of perfect tranquillity, as well as in a condition that left them little or nothing to fear from any of their neighbours. He had therefore just reason to expect, that, in gratitude for these services, as well as out of respect to his son's merit and their own late act, they would admit him to the peaceable enjoyment of the kingdom, though, from what had passed in his own reign, he was fully sensible that there was a very strong party who disliked hereditary succession, though it took place in consequence of an election.

Don Ordogno continued the administration of the regal dignity ^e after his father's death, in his own right, and the nobility seemed to be very well satisfied with his accession: some of them, however, excited the Gascons in the province of Alava to take up arms, and to call in the Moors to their assistance. The king was no sooner informed that they were in motion, than he marched against them ^f with a small body of choice troops, and, arriving sooner than they expected, easily defeated them. But when he was upon his march back to his capital, he had intelligence that the Moors, who had promised them their assistance, had entered the province, and were about to take possession of it; upon which he marched back with so much swiftness and secrecy, that, surprising them in their camp, he cut off great numbers, and forced the remainder to make a precipitate retreat. At his return to Oviedo, he found that a new civil war was broke out in the kingdom of Cordova; and that Muza, an officer of great courage and experience, but of still greater ambition, had revolted, and was endeavouring to make himself an independent prince. As this war was favourable to his interests, he, as a politician, took care to keep it alive, and sent a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the people of Toledo, who had likewise taken up arms against Mahamut, king of Cordova. This prince, by a stratagem, drew them out of their city, and not only defeated their forces,

A. D. 850.

^d Chron. Var. Antiq. ^e Mariana, Historia General de Hispania, liv. vii. Ferraras, Historia de Hispania, part. iv. Mayerne Turquet, Histoire Generale d'Espagne, liv. vi. ^f Luc. Tudenſis Chron. Vafſi Chron.

A. D. 854.

but also those sent by Don Ordogno, of whom there were eight thousand killed, and twelve thousand of the people of Toledo, which enabled the conqueror to raise several pillars of heads, as a triumphant though barbarous manner of celebrating his victory; a cruel and indecent custom practised long before amongst these people, and which in Africa is still in use.

This misfortune did not hinder Don Ordogno from continuing his assistance to the people of Toledo, who still persisted in their revolt; and while, by this method, he provided full employment for the Moors, he fortified the chief cities in his own dominions. He particularly walled Leon and Astorga, and established an episcopal see in each. While he was thus occupied, he received information that Athaulfo, bishop of Compostella, was guilty of a most heinous sin, equally contrary to his nature as a man, and to his duty as a Christian. Without considering that this was charged on him only by slaves, he suffered his passion to rise so high on that prelate's appearing in his presence, that he turned loose upon him a bull which happened to be then baiting; but the beast, instead of destroying Athaulfo, approached him gently, and without doing him any hurt; a phenomenon which the king and the nobility about him looked upon as a certain proof of his innocence^a. The bishop, however, took this imputation so heavily, that he quitted his charge, and spent the remaining part of a long life in a hermitage, as if, after such an escape, he thought it safer to pass his days amongst beasts than men. Soon after, the king received intelligence, that Muza, who, though descended from the Goths, professed the Mohammedan religion, and had chosen Saragossa for his capital, had begun to fortify the town of Albayda^b, upon the frontiers of king Ordogno's territories, with a view to cover himself from any incursions on that side; but the king, who had given him no occasion for this precaution, took it in another light, believing that he meant thereby to have a door open to make inroads at his pleasure into the adjacent country. Don Ordogno, therefore, resolved to demolish this new fortress, and marched with a numerous army for that purpose; of which design as soon as Muza had intelligence, he put himself in motion with all his forces, in order to cover the place. This brought on a battle, which was obstinately fought; but in the end the king gained a complete victory, Garcia, the son-in-

^a Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Vasei Annal.^b Chron. Var. Antiq.
law

law of Muza, with ten thousand men, being killed upon the spot, and Muza himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner, to die of his wounds a few days after in Saragossa. As for the fortress of Albayda, it submitted to the king, who dismantled it as he intended; but, for all these advantages, he saw, when it was too late, that the king of Cordova, without sharing at all in the danger, had gained more by the defeat of Muza than himself, most of the places which that rebel held having submitted to that king upon his death.

Mahamut, king of Cordova, being thus delivered from one enemy, by another, raised a formidable army, in order to reduce Toledo. Though the inhabitants received some succours from Don Ordogno, yet, in consequence of a long blockade, they were forced to submit upon the best terms they could obtain, after Abenlope, who was at the head of the revolt, had deserted the place, with such as followed his fortunes ⁱ. In all probability Don Ordogno was hindered from supporting him as he intended, by the appearance of the Normans upon the coasts of his dominions, which obliged him to send most of his forces to Don Pedro, who commanded in Galicia, and who was thereby enabled to defeat those plunderers, and to burn a part of their fleet ^k. Yet such was the resentment of the king of Cordova for the share his neighbour had taken in defence of Toledo, that he sent one of his sons with a numerous army to invade his dominions; a step which however turned more to his prejudice than to that of the Christians, since Don Ordogno obliged them to retire with great loss ^l. The inhabitants of Toledo were no sooner informed of this check, than they recalled Abenlope, and revolted again with a settled resolution to shake off the yoke of the Moors; and, on the other side, Don Ordogno gave them repeated assurances of affording them better assistance than he had given them heretofore. He likewise intended to succour Merida, which, after the example of Toledo, had revolted against Mahamut; but that monarch was too quick for them, and, having reduced the place, built a citadel to restrain the inhabitants within the bounds of their duty. However, Don Or- A. D. 862;
dogno took Salamanca and Coria, the former by storm, which he demolished, the latter by composition, and then returned into his own dominions with a prodigious booty, and a large number of slaves ^m.

ⁱ Luc. Tudenf. Chron.^k Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan.

part. iii.

^l Chron. Var. Antiq.^m Vasæi Chron.

Gains several great advantages over the Moors.

The king took advantage of this disposition in his people, and proposed the association of his son Don Alonso, who had distinguished himself highly in these wars, and they assented to the proposal with a good grace. It was not long before he had a farther opportunity of raising the prince's credit and his own; for the king of Cordova making an effort with the whole force of his dominions for the reduction of Toledo, Don Ordogno disappointed that design; and when, in revenge of this opposition, the other invaded his dominions on the side of Portugal, he also defeated the forces of Mahamut in several actions, so that this war ended highly to his advantageⁿ; though some writers tell us, that a great fleet, equipped by the Moors, in order to make a descent upon Galicia, was dispersed and destroyed by tempests, yet an ancient chronicle^o, written in those times, asserts, that they were defeated by these Christians; and therefore we have reason to believe that Don Ordogno not only extended his dominions upon the continent, but raised a maritime^p power likewise, which had never been attempted by his predecessors. Thus, covered with glory, and somewhat advanced in years, Don Ordogno, to the universal regret of his subjects, died of the gout^q, with which he was much afflicted, May the 17th, in the year 866, and was buried in the royal sepulchre of the kings of Oviedo.

A. D. 865.

Don Alonso III. sur-named the Great, succeeds, and is de-throned by Don Froila.

The nobility, who had sworn allegiance to the prince Don Alonso at the age of fourteen, received him now in his eighteenth year for their sovereign with great alacrity; and the young monarch, who had not the least doubt of their fidelity, gave most of them personal marks of esteem and affection, so that all things seemed to wear the face of the most perfect harmony; yet on a sudden they had intelligence at Oviedo of the march of Don Froila, who was at the head of the army in Galicia, towards that capital, with an intent to dethrone the king. Some of the lords who were nearest his person, advised him to retire into Castile, as he had no troops about him to oppose the usurper, and offered, as an indubitable proof of their loyalty, to share in his disgrace. The young prince yielded to this advice, and it had a good effect; for the usurper, irritated at the cold reception he met with, begun to act the tyrant, and behaved so ill towards those with whom he

ⁿ Chron. Var. Antiq.^o Chronic. Sanct. Milan.^p Ro-

deric Santii Hist. Hispan. part. iii.

^q Luc. Tudens. Chron.

Vasæi Chron.

had been formerly familiar, that, by a conspiracy suddenly formed against him, he was assassinated in his palace almost as soon as he had seated himself on the throne ^r. A. D. 866.

Don Alonso, as soon as he received the news of this event, returned with his friends to Oviedo, and was received with the general acclamations even of the usurper's army ^s. His first care was to put his dominions into a proper state of defence, and, with this view, he built, in the neighbourhood of the city of Leon, the castle of Sublancia, which is the place now called Sallanco, in order to cover the Asturias from the irruption of any enemies; at the same time he peopled the town of Cea, and built there a very strong citadel, with the same view ^t. While he was thus employed, he was informed of the revolt of count Eylon, in the province of Alava; upon which he marched thither with a numerous army; but, upon his approach, the rebels laid down their arms, and threw the fault upon their chief, whom they brought prisoner to the king, who, granting them a general pardon, returned with his forces to Oviedo; yet he was scarce arrived in his capital, before he received intelligence that they were in arms again; a circumstance which obliged him to march into that province a second time, where, having easily reduced these mutinous people, he was, notwithstanding the natural clemency of his nature, compelled to make some examples, to prevent future disturbances, and that he might have leisure to pursue those important designs he had formed for the benefit of his subjects. He also, at his return to Oviedo, made a present of a noble shrine of silver to the cathedral church, for the more convenient holding of their relics, which is still preserved, and, by an inscription thereon, the time of his accession to the throne is clearly asserted. A. D. 868.

As soon as Mahamut, king of Cordova, had intelligence of the great assiduity with which Don Alonso fortified the chief places on his frontier, and the methods he employed for keeping up a regular militia in every part of his territories, even in time of peace, he concluded, that, as soon as these designs were achieved, he might be in danger from so active and so potent a neighbour, and therefore he held it policy to begin first, and to endeavour, while part of the country was still open, to make some impression upon the Christians. He had at that time a very nu-

Recovers his dominions, and soon after suppresses two rebellions.

Gains two signal victories over Mahamut, king of Cordova.

^r Chron. Var. Antiq. ^s Luc. Tudensis Chronicon. Vasæi Chron. ^t Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

merous army on foot, to which notwithstanding he added some new levies; and, having divided the whole into two bodies ^u, gave the command of one to his brother Abulmundar, and the other to an officer of great reputation, whose name was Alcanatel, with instructions to penetrate into the dominions of Don Alonso at the same time, one on the side of Leon, and the other through Galicia ^w. The news of this double invasion reached the king's ears while he lay at no great distance from Leon, with a small army, composed chiefly of troops that had served long under his father. Marching with the utmost expedition to Leon, he attacked Abulmundar unexpectedly, and, after a short though very bloody dispute, defeated his forces with great slaughter. Then he turned his arms against Alcanatel, over whom he obtained a more complete victory, the far greater part of that general's troops being killed on the field of battle, or in the pursuit, his camp taken and plundered, and the poor remains of his army so thoroughly dispersed, that Don Alonso ravaged the provinces of Tierra de Campos, and the districts of Simencas, Toro, and Zamora; in all which he left not a Mohammedan, but carried into slavery all that he found ^x.

A. D. 869.

*Conquers
several
places from
the Moors.*

The very same year he espoused the celebrated Ximene, Yimena, or Chimene, descended from the illustrious house of Navarre, and, in consequence of that marriage, entered into a league offensive and defensive against the Moors, which, as soon as the rejoicings for the marriage were over, was followed by another campaign, in which he wasted the territories of the infidels through a vast extent, brought away an incredible number of slaves, and a booty of immense value. The winter he spent in his own territories, and in examining how far the designs which he had proposed for the benefit of his subjects were carried into execution. At the return of the spring he was again in motion. Having passed the Duero, he advanced as far as Lamego and Viseo, and, finding them still in the same situation they had been left in by his predecessor Alonso the Catholic, continued his progress to Coimbra, which he took and dismantled. His victorious army having as much plunder as they were able to transport, and as many slaves as it was possible for them to bring away with safety, he returned to Oviedo, where he gave audience to the ambassadors of the king of Cordova, and granted them a truce ^y upon very advantageous

^u Roderic Toletan. Hist. Arab. ^w Chron. var. ant. ^x Luc. Tudenſ. Vafſei Chron. ^y Roderic Toletan, Historia Arabum.

terms.

terms. His next care was to restore and repeople the cities of Aurenfa in Galicia, and of Braga and Porto between the Duero and the Minho, dividing all the adjacent lands amongst those whom he sent thither. The following year he repaired Lamego and Viseo in the same manner; and upon this occasion it was that the tomb, in which lay the remains of Don Roderic, the last king of the Goths, was discovered. He caused likewise Coimbra, or Conimbra, to be re-edified in the same manner, directing it to be strongly fortified, as intending to make it his frontier on that side. By this prudent method he secured the interior of his territory from the ravages of the infidels ^z.

The king of Cordova, as soon as the term for which he had concluded the truce was expired, renewed his hostilities, with an intent to disturb Don Alonso in his project of re-peopling the flat country which he had subdued. But this was attended with no better success than his former war, Don Alonso being constantly victorious in every action, and carrying his arms in this campaign as far as the city of Merida. The king of Cordova having recruited his forces, and obtained some supplies from the most distant parts of his dominions, assembled a much better army than he had the year before, under the command of Abuhalet, a very gallant officer, of established reputation; but though it was in the power of this monarch to change his captains, it was not within the reach either of him or them to change the fortune of the war; for, coming to an engagement, on the frontiers, with some of Don Alonso's generals, who commanded his army in his absence, the Moors were defeated; and Abuhalet, being taken prisoner, was sent to the king at Oviedo, who agreed with him for his ransom, and consented to take one of his sons, two brothers, and a nephew, as hostages for the payment of it. This last defeat served only to enrage the king of Cordova, who, withdrawing most of the forces he had in Andalusia, and having promised great privileges to those districts who had furnished him with men, assembled early in the spring a great army, which he put under the command of his son Almundar, joining with him one of his oldest generals, whose name was Ybengamin, promising them great supplies which should join them on their march ^a. These forces, having advanced into the neigh-

A.D. 871.

^z Luc. Tudens. Chron.
Chron.

^a Luc. Tudens. Chron: Vazæi

bourhood of Leon, began to think it necessary to wait there for the reinforcements that were promised. Don Alonso, having likewise intelligence of the march of those succours by the river Orbigo, advanced with a strong detachment from his own army, and took possession of an eminence which overlooked the narrow country between that river and Ezla. As soon as the succours, which consisted of about fourteen thousand men, had possessed Polvoroso, he attacked them in front and on the flank with such success, that the greatest part of them were killed upon the spot, or drowned in the rivers, and the rest took the best measures they could to reach home in safety ^b. The victorious monarch, desiring to add one conquest to another, marched with all possible expedition to attack Almundar; but the young prince, having intelligence of his friend's defeat, decamped in the night, and with much speed recovered his father's dominions, from whence he sent a polite message to Don Alonso, to desire a truce, which, at his request, the king granted for three years. At his return from this campaign, he set up a cross of gold, as the monument of his victory, in the cathedral church of Oviedo, as, the year before, he had sent a cross of the same metal to the church at Compostella, that his piety might not seem inferior to his courage ^c.

A. D. 878.

While the truce subsisted, Abenlope Abdallah, the son of Muza, revolted from the king of Cordova, and found means to make himself master of Saragossa, in which his father had given that monarch so much trouble before, not without the participation of Don Alonso, who, as soon as the truce was expired, made an irruption into the territories of Mahamut, passed the Tagus, and afterwards the river Ana, not far from which he defeated the Moorish army, and killed some say five, some say ten, others fifteen thousand men ^c. While he was thus employed abroad, the city of Oviedo, by his order, was walled and fortified, and a palace built for his reception at home, to which, after his glorious campaign, he returned in triumph. Next year the war continued hot between Mahamut and Abdallah. The latter had once broke his faith to Don Alonso, and attempted to reconcile himself to his old master; from whom he revolted again, and laboured to conclude a new treaty with Don Alonso, who was unwilling to trust him any more, and who, notwithstanding the Moorish prince Almundar had made an in-

A. D. 882

^b Chron. var. antiq.

^c Roderic Tolet. Hist Arabum.

curfion into his country, fent Dulcidius, a prieft, at the request of king Mahamut, to Cordova, where he negotiated a truce for fix years^y, upon terms equally honourable and advantageous for his mafter.

The king, now grown into years, was inclined to repose, and to fpend the remainder of his days in embellishing and improving his dominions. With this view he fent inftructions to Don Diego, count of Caftile, to repair and fortify Burgos, a fervice which he performed fo effectually, that it afterwards became the capital of that country^z. The next object of Don Alonfo's attention was to reftore the fees of Braga, Forto, Lamego, Vifeo, and Coïmbra, in Portugal, and thofe of Orenfa and Mundognedo in Galicia. He was not lefs provident with refpect to the civil government, which he reduced into fo good order, and gave the common people fuch marks of his attention and affection, as highly difobliged fome of the nobility, who could by no means digeft the limitation of that authority which hitherto they had executed without controul; and this feems to be the moft probable caufe of thofe feditions which difturbed and diftressed the remaining part of this great monarch's reign, notwithstanding all that he had done, and all that he was willing to do, for the common benefit of his fubjects².

A. D. 834.

The firft that broke out were in Galicia, where a great lord, whose name was Ano, had entered into fome dark defigns; which being difcovered, he was punifhed by the confifcation of his eftate. Another nobleman, whose name was Hermegild, by the affiftance of his wife Iberia, a woman of an active and intriguing temper, raifed great difturbances in the neighbourhood of Corunna; but the king, fending a formidable army into thofe parts, quickly difperfed them and their adherents; and the chiefs, being foon after taken, were put to death, and part of their eftates given to the church of St. James. The king, having now fome refpite from foreign wars and domeftic diforders, completed his pious and charitable foundations, and particularly the pompous church of St. James, which he caufed to be confecrated with great folemnity. Soon after, a new rebellion broke out in Galicia, under one Witiza, more formidable than any of the former; which however was quickly fuppreffed, and that traitor fent pri-

A. D. 826.

^y Chron. var. antiq.
Hispana, p. iiii.
Chron.

^z Roder. Santii. Hift.
² Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Valæi

soner to the king. This was followed by another, to which an end was put in the same manner.

All the seditions and revolts that had hitherto happened in Galicia were but trivial in comparison of that raised by Froila and his brethren Nugnez, Veremond, and Odoair, whom Mariana will have to be brothers also to the king; an opinion directly contrary to what is asserted by a contemporary historian^b, who assures us, that Don Alphonso was the only son of Don Ordogno. However, it was quickly suppressed: Froila and his brother fled towards Castile, but were overtaken by some of the king's troops, and brought back prisoners to Oviedo, where they were condemned to have their eyes put out, and to remain in a dungeon for life. Veremond, however, soon after made his escape, took shelter in Astorga, and not only raised all that part of the country in his favour, but obtained also a body of troops from Abdalla, the grandson of Mahamut, king of Cordova. Don Alphonso pursued him in person, and invested the city of Astorga, which he defended obstinately, in hopes of being succoured by an army that king Abdalla sent to his relief; upon the approach of which he boldly marched out to join them, and, in conjunction with the infidels, offered his master battle. Don

A. D. 897.

Holds a general council at Oviedo.

Alphonso, grown old in arms, and followed by troops that had been ever victorious under his command, attacked the rebels and their infidel allies with such vigour in the plain of Graja de Ribera, which is watered by the river Ezia, that they were quickly routed, and the greatest part of them slain or drowned: the few that remained fled with blind Veremond into the dominions of the king of Cordova, who soon after sent an embassy to Don Alonso, to persuade him to renew the truce, which with some difficulty was granted^c.

The public tranquillity thus restored, the king returned, as usual, to the cares of domestic government, and more especially to works of piety, and such as might contribute to the glory of his kingdom, and the honour and happiness of his subjects. It was with this view that he summoned a general council of his clergy, and a great assembly of the states at Oviedo, with the consent of the pope^d. The monarch opened to the members of this venerable assembly the motives upon which they had been

A. D. 900.

^b El Monje de Silos, Ferreras, Hist. de Espana, p. iv. sect. 9.
^c Chron. var. antiq.
^d Mariana, Historia general de Espana, lib. vii.

called together, in consequence of which they elected the bishop of Oviedo ^e, as the court bishop, metropolitan, ordered the ancient canons to be strictly observed, and, for the greater ease of holding regular synods at Oviedo, each of the bishops had certain rents or revenues assigned him there, sufficient to defray his expences while he attended to discharge the duties of his sacred function. This (though many others have been assigned) seems to be the true reason why this was called the city of bishops ^f.

As the king saw with pleasure the good effects of rebuilding and fortifying such places of consequence as he had recovered from the Moors, and was determined to adhere steadily to that salutary maxim, he undertook to preside in person at the reparation of Zamora, anciently called Scientica, while the care of rebuilding Toro was committed to his son Don Garcias, and that of restoring Simencas and Duenas to two great lords of the court, with a view that the river Duero might, by the help of these strong places, be rendered an impenetrable barrier against the infidels ^g. Abdalla, king of Cordova, foreseeing that these new cities would be all peopled at his cost, sent over several ministers to solicit the princes of his religion in Africa for succours, representing the interest of the Mohammedans in Spain to be in danger from the designs of Don Alonso: by these remonstrances, he obtained such large supplies, as enabled him to levy and send a numerous army directly towards Zamora, and, the general who commanded it, was attended by Alcaman, a plausible enthusiast, who endeavoured to raise the courage of the soldiers by his vehement harangues. But Don Alonso, who covered the works he was about, with a considerable army, having made a proper choice of the ground, advanced, attacked, and defeated them, with prodigious loss, and amongst the slain was their preacher, who had promised them such mighty things in the name of his prophet ^h. This blow kept the infidels quiet for two years. Then Don Alonso, having intelligence that they began to be in motion, marched with a numerous army into the kingdom of Toledo. Fetching a compass under the mountains that divide the two kingdoms of Castile, he burnt and demolished some of the best towns, and, having taken and dismantled a fortress which the

Defeats the Moors.

A. D. 904.

^e Ferreras, Historia de España, p. iv.
Chron. Vasæi Chron.
Hispana, lib. iv.

^f Luc. Tudenf.

^g Roderic. Tolet. de reb.

^h Chron. var. antiq.

Moors had built to cover their territories, returned in triumph to his own country with immense riches. It was at the end of this campaign that a new conspiracy was detected, into which one Adalpin and his sons had entered, for which they were justly punished with death¹.

Next year, the good old monarch found himself in a situation so much the more unfortunate, as it was both unnatural and unexpected. His son Don Garcias, who had married the daughter of Nugnez Fernandez, one of the greatest noblemen in his dominions, formed the cruel design of deposing his father, and seating himself upon the throne; which however could not be carried on so secretly, but that it came to the old king's ears, who, marching with a strong detachment of forces to Zamora, seized upon his son's person, and sent him prisoner to the castle of Gecuzon. How just, how necessary soever this step might be, Don Alonso found that it gave great offence to those to whom it ought only to have given sorrow. In short, the queen Chimene, who was excessively fond of her son, forgetting the cause of his confinement, spoke of it as an act of excessive severity, and solicited the king for his release, which he in plain terms refused; then the father-in-law of the young prince became first importunate, and then undutiful^k. However, Don Alonso

A.D. 908. was not to be moved either by persuasions or threats; at length, in the third year of the prince's confinement, his brother Don Ordogno, governor of Galicia, joining with the queen and Nugnez Fernandez, began to dispose the minds of people every where to revolt, alleging, that while the king gave them fair words, and promised to consider their petitions, the prince was growing old in a prison. The wise and brave old king, perceiving that a civil war was on the point of breaking out, summoned an assembly of the states, which was held in the year 910, in which the majority endeavoured to engage the king to set his son at liberty, as a step necessary to his own safety, which would be highly obliging to his subjects^l. The king thereupon summoned all the grandees to his country palace at Bordes, now called Bedes, in Asturias, and, having produced both his sons before them, he made a short speech, in which he observed, that having studied through a long life, and a long reign, to do

ⁱ Vassæi Chron.
lib. iv.

^k Roderic Tolet. de reb. Hispana,
^l Chron. var. antiq.

always what might be best for his people, he would not alter his conduct at the end of it; and was therefore content to gratify their wishes, by resigning the crown to Don Garcias^m, and the province of Galicia to Don Ordogno. The two princes, who were far from expecting such a resolution, threw themselves on their knees at their father's feet, and intreated his pardon for what was passed, which he readily granted; and immediately after, by the consent of the states, Don Garcias was declared kingⁿ (G). This transaction, as far as can be collected from the best historians, happened in the month of December, in the year before-mentioned.

The new king was solicitous to begin his administration with certain actions that might appear both popular and praiseworthy; accordingly he first founded and endowed a monastery, and then assembled a numerous army, in order to march against the Moors, who had been free from incursions during the last three years. The king of Cordova, having intelligence of his motions, made the best provision he could for his reception, and put at the head of his forces Ayola, an officer of great repute for conduct as well as courage. He seems, however, to have acted this campaign upon the defensive, and to have aimed only at preventing Don Garcias from penetrating into Castile; but the king, who was eager and active, as well as personally brave, forced the Moors to a battle, in which he not only gained a complete victory, but also took their general Ayola prisoner, who, in the return of the army into Asturias, had the good fortune to make his escape. This victory, and the vast riches which the foldiers obtained, raised the character of Don Garcias extremely with his subjects^o.

Don Garcias opens his reign with an expedition against the Moors.

A. D. 911.

^m Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Vafæi Chron. ⁿ Mariana, Historia general de Espana, lib. vii. Ferreras, Historia de Espana, p. iv. ^o Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

(G) We have some circumstances, relating to the abdication of Don Alonso the Great, from Mariana, that deserve the reader's notice. He assures us, that in order to execute his projected scheme of adorning the chief places in his dominions with public structures, rebuilding decayed towns, and fortifying his frontiers, he found himself under a necessity of imposing new taxes upon his subjects, which, as he observes, is always to be avoided as much as possible, because it never fails, unless the necessity be very glaring, to make those who are to pay them uneasy.

At his return from this expedition, his father met him at Astorga, where they conferred together on the operations of the next year; and Don Alonso took a great deal of pains to shew him, that incursions and conquests signified little, if they were made with no other view than to enrich the soldiers, and to gain applause. He therefore advised him to assemble a numerous army, of which he would himself take the command^p, at least of the vanguard; and that in the mean time due care should be taken to repair and repeople the places that yet lay open and in ruins along the river Duero, particularly Rueda, Osma, Corunna, and Cocca. Don Garcias thanked his father for his advice, and promised to follow it exactly. Accordingly, having charged two of his principal nobility with the care of restoring the places before-mentioned, he assembled his army in the spring, of which Don Alonso taking the command, swept all the country beyond the Duero; and having made a glorious campaign, with very little resistance on the part of the Moors, he returned with his army laden with spoils, in the winter, to Zamora^q.

A.D. 912.

Death of Don Alonso. In a short time after he came to that city, he found himself much indisposed, and perceiving that his end drew on, he sent for his old friend the bishop of Astorga to assist him in his last moments. Having bestowed all the money he had, which Ferreras^r says amounted to about five hundred pistoles, on the church of St. James, he breathed his last December the 20th, in the year 912, two years after his abdication, forty-nine years from the time of his being associated in the government with his father, and when he was about the age of sixty-three^s. In recording the principal events of his reign, we have sufficiently drawn the character of this excellent prince, than whom none of those who bore it better deserved the title of Great. He was not only unaffectedly pious, and a great patron of learning, but, for the times in which he lived, a prince of great learning; for, having been intreated by Sebastian, bishop of Orensa, who had been either his chaplain or his preceptor, to consider of some means for preserving the memorials of times past, of which, from the reign of king Wamba, there were scarce any records worth reading, he undertook and composed

^p Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vassæi Chron.
Santii. Historia Hispana, p. iii.

^q Historia de Espana, p. iv.

^r Roderic
Chron. var. antiq.

that chronicle † which has been mentioned more than once, beginning at the death of king Recesuintho, and ending with that of Don Ordogno, his own father. This, after having been long covered with dust and oblivion, was published to the world under the name of the bishop at whose request it was composed; but the most learned and judicious of the Spanish critics have long ago declared themselves satisfied that it belonged to the king himself; and indeed this is evident from the performance, though very incorrectly published by Sandoval, and not so perfect as could be wished in later editions.

The same year, but some months before Don Alonso, died another Spanish monarch, viz. Abdallah, king of Cordova, and was succeeded by Abderrahman the Third, the son of king Mohammed, against whom Don Garcias prepared to act vigorously; but this expedition was retarded by some sinister designs that he formed against his brother Don Ordogno, as being not at all well pleased that he should hold in his own right so considerable a province as that of Galicia, of which therefore he was inclined to deprive him; but his brother being a very brave prince, much beloved by his soldiers, prepared to meet him with a gallant army: upon which, Don Garcias was content to admit of the interposition of the queen his mother, and some of the nobility, by whose endeavours their quarrel was composed, and they acted jointly, and with great cordiality, in their expedition against the Moors, which was begun and ended with all the success they could desire ‡. While they were in the field, Donna Ximena, or Thimene, ended her days, and, according to her desire, was interred at Astorga by her husband. At the close of the campaign, Don Garcias repaired to Leon, in order to enjoy some repose after his fatigue, and to confer with his nobility. Before the winter was ended, he fell into a disease that proved fatal to him, when he had worn the crown, which he took from his father's head, somewhat less than three years §, the less regretted by his subjects, upon account of a certain sternness in his disposition, so much the more remarkable, as it was the very reverse of the affability of Don Alonso, and of the open and cheerful temper of his brother, who was generally beloved and esteemed.

A.D. 913.

† Marques de Mondejar Advertencias, p. 9.
 ric, Tolet. de reb. Hispana, lib. v.
 antiq.

‡ Rode-
 w Chron. var.

*D. Ordog-
no II. his
brother suc-
ceeds, and
gains the
battle of
Talavera
against the
Moors.*

Don Ordogno was in his own province at the time of his brother's decease; of which however he was no sooner informed, than he repaired with all the expedition possible to Leon, from whence the body of his brother had been transported to Oviedo, where it was interred in the tomb with his predecessors. The bishops and nobles made no scruple of admitting him to the throne, and, in consequence of their election, he was declared king in the month of February 914*. His first care was to imitate his predecessors, in making an expedition against the infidels. Having accordingly made an incursion into the territories of the king of Cordova, he found his progress stopped by the town of Talavera de la Reyna, the governor of which, contrary to his expectations, absolutely refused to surrender, upon which he invested the place, and made several vigorous attacks; but it was so well fortified, and the Moor defended himself with such spirit and resolution, that, notwithstanding the bravery of his troops, and his own presence, he made but a slow progress in the siege. While he was thus employed, Abderrahman, who was very desirous of giving a check to this martial monarch at the beginning of his reign, sent a good corps of troops, under the command of one of the most renowned officers, to the relief of the place. Don Ordogno was no sooner informed of this reinforcement, than, leaving a small corps before Talavera, he marched with the rest of his army, and gave battle to the enemy, who defended themselves gallantly till their general was killed, and then fled. After this victory, he took Talavera by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and, having dismantled the place, returned in triumph to Leon.

A. D. 914.

The very next spring we find Don Ordogno again in the field, and again victorious over the infidels, whom he routed with great slaughter near the castle of Alhanges, which place he took by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. This exploit induced many of the neighbouring towns to surrender, and others to ransom themselves at the expence of very large sums, so that this campaign was equally glorious and gainful to the Christians. But these losses sunk so deep into the breast of the king of Cordova, that he had again recourse to the princes in Africa of his own religion. He represented the distress

* Mariana, Historia general de Espana, lib. vii. Ferreras, Historia de Espana, p. iv. Mayerne Turquet, Histoire generale d'Espagne, lib. vi.
Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Vasei
Chron.

he was in, and the ambitious views of Don Ordogno, in so strong a light, that they chearfully contributed, according to the respective force of their dominions, to send him a great supply; and Mohammed Almotaraf, then lord of Ceuta, went in person to his assistance. Abderrahman assembled also a good army, and received succours likewise from the Moorish prince of Saragossa, under the command of Ablapaz. This united army of the infidels amounted in the whole to eighty thousand men, and, marching directly towards the frontier of Don Ordogno's territories, began to make dispositions for passing the river Duero, being already arrived within sight of St. Stephen de Gormaz. There Don Ordogno stopped their career. Though his army was inferior in number, he made no scruple of engaging the enemy, and, after a most obstinate and bloody action, defeated them, their generals Ablapaz and Mohammed being both killed upon the spot. After this glorious victory, he returned with prodigious spoils to Leon, where he built a noble cathedral, as a monument of his piety and gratitude for the divine favour. Having thus made it a bishop's see, he next, in regard to the beauty and convenient situation of the place, made choice of it for the capital of his dominions, and, as his predecessors had been styled first kings of Asturias, then of Oviedo, so himself and his successors took from this time the title of kings of Leon^z.

A. D. 917.

The war was still carried on between the Moors and Christians with equal eagerness and obstinacy on both sides, but with less inequality than before; for, in the next engagement, Don Ordogno was glad to continue the battle till it was dark, and then to make a retreat without boasting of victory^a; soon after which action, he concluded a truce with the king of Cordova, who still meditated revenge against the Christians. Impelled by this passion, he, not without great difficulty, assembled a more numerous army than he had hitherto brought into the field, composed in a great measure of new supplies from Africa, which he sent under the command of one of his generals, into the territories of the king of Navarre^b. Don Sanchez, who then governed that country, demanded the assistance of his nephew Don Ordogno, who, with a body of choice troops, marched to his relief. Having joined his army under the command of prince Garcias,

Marches to the relief of the king of Navarre.

^z Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Vazæi Chron. Sant. Hist. Hispana, p. iii.

^a Roderic

^b Vazæi Chron.

the allied army engaged the Moors in the valley of Junquera, and after a long and bloody dispute, were defeated; so that Don Ordogno returned with the remainder of his forces, not without some difficulty, to Leon. The Moors elevated with this victory, instead of prosecuting their advantages, made an irruption into France, where they were able to do nothing. In the mean time Don Ordogno, having recovered his spirits, and recruited his army, made several successful incursions into the dominions of the king of Cordova.

At his return from this campaign, the king received the news of the death of his queen Donna Elvira, whose body he caused to be interred in the royal sepulchre at Oviedo, and the year following espoused Argonta, who was descended from one of the principal families in Galicia; but soon after, moved by some wicked calumny, or ill-grounded suspicion, he repudiated his new queen, who retired to a monastery, and there spent the remainder of her days in devotion^c: the king too, being convinced of his fault, is said to have become sincerely penitent. At this juncture, having some suspicion of the fidelity of the counts of Castile, he went thither slenderly attended, and summoned them to meet him; but they refusing to come, he returned without seeming to take any offence, and, having raised a very powerful army, went once more into Castile, and summoned them a second time, when, through fear of his destroying their country, they appeared; upon which the king seized and carried them to Leon, where some time after he caused them to be strangled in prison^d. We find this act represented by most historians as a piece of injustice and cruelty; whereas others affirm, that these lords had been in rebellion, and suffered no more than they deserved.

A. D. 923. The king of Navarre and his son Don Garcias having demanded the assistance of Don Ordogno, in order to recover some places that were yet in the hands of the Moors, he marched accordingly into their dominions and assisted them effectually. At the close of the expedition, he married Donna Santiva, the daughter of Don Garcias, and the grand-daughter of the king, with whom he returned into his own territories, where he died^e very soon after, and was buried in the cathedral of Leon, leaving by his

^c Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

^e Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Vasci Chron.

^d Chron. var. antiq.

first queen, two sons, Don Alonso and Don Ramiro, after he had reigned seventeen years and some months. As for his new-married queen, she returned again into Navarre. The princes his sons, being too young to form any pretensions to the crown in an elective monarchy, his brother Don Froila repaired immediately to Leon, and, by the consent of the bishops and great lords, was without difficulty received as his successor in the throne^f.

Don Froila the Second, king of Oviedo and Leon, is represented as a prince of great fierceness and cruelty. He understood that the sons of Olmund, a great lord, had endeavoured to hinder his election; and the crown was hardly placed upon his head before he put them to death: his brother Fronimo, bishop of Leon, having intimated, that, notwithstanding his youth, Don Alphonso, the eldest son of the deceased king, might be enabled to govern with the assistance of a regency, he caused him to be banished; a step which alarmed his subjects to the highest degree; and in all probability his reign would have been attended with continual troubles, as it opened so unhappily, if, in the judgment of the writers of those times, Providence had not interposed; a thing indeed not rashly to be credited. However, in this they all agree, that, being struck with a leprosy, he in the space of a few months was brought with much sorrow and pain to his grave, when he had borne the title of king ^g only a year and one month. His body was interred in the cathedral church of Leon, near that of his brother Don Ordogno the Second. In so short a space as twenty years, from the resignation of Don Alonso the Great, his dominions had very much altered their aspect, and his subjects had just reason to regret their impatience and ingratitude to that wise and prudent monarch, who, they now plainly saw, was much better acquainted with the disposition of his children than those who were so desirous to raise them to the throne in his life-time: the nobility also, remembering the proposition that had been made by the bishop of Leon, upon the last vacancy of the throne, resolved to embrace his scheme, and rather trust the public affairs in the hands of a young prince, of a mild temper and virtuous disposition, than run the hazard of placing upon the

*Don Froila
II. his brother.*

^f Mariana, *Historia general de Espana*, lib. vii. Ferreras, *Hist. de Espana*, p. iv. Mayerne Turquet, *Histoire generale d'Espagne*, lib. vii.

^g Chron. Var. Antiq.

throne a prince like him from whom they were so happily delivered.

Don Alonso IV. succeeds his uncle.

Don Alonso, or Don Alphonso, the son of Don Ordogno the Second, succeeded his uncle upon the principles before mentioned, and, immediately after his accession, recalled Fronimo, bishop of Leon, by whose advice he was chiefly directed during the short time he sat upon the throne. He was a prince of a sweet and moderate temper, which, however, it must be acknowledged, did not so well qualify him for a throne; and, therefore, on the demise of his queen Donna Urraca, he formed a resolution of abdicating in favour of his brother Don Ramiro, who at that time commanded on the frontiers of Portugal, and was a young prince of great spirit and capacity; which resolution has been thought the more extraordinary in Don Alonso, as he had a son living by his beloved queen, whose name was Ordogno ^h. However, he was either so much inclined to a private life, or so sensible of his want of talents for the right administration of civil and military affairs, that, persisting in his resolution, he sent for his brother from Viseo to Zamora, where he then was, and, in the presence of the principal nobility, having made a full and sensible oration on the qualities requisite in a great and good king, and freely acknowledging that some of these were wanting in him from nature, he voluntarily resigned his crown ⁱ, and advised them to place it on the head of his brother. This event happened, according to the chronology of Ferreras ^k, in the year 927, though some historians place it four years later.

Don Ramiro II. is declared king.

Don Ramiro the Second was no sooner placed upon the throne, than he resolved to signalize his courage by an expedition against the Moors, which was what his brother seemed to have intended, and to have appointed with that view the nobility to meet him at Zamora, upon the frontiers. But while he was busy in his military preparations, he was strangely alarmed with the news that his brother Don Alphonso had quitted his monastery, returned to the city of Leon, and resumed the state and functions of a king, to which step it seems he was excited by those who were better pleased with a king who left the government to them, than with him by whom they saw plainly they they must be governed. The nobility, however, that were about Don Ramiro, having given him positive assurances

^h Roderic Santii Hist. Hispaniæ, p. iii.
Antiq.

^k Historia de Hispania, p. iv.

ⁱ Chron. Var.

of their fidelity, he marched immediately with the army that should have been employed against the Moors, to invest the city of Leon, and, being unwilling to have recourse to extremities, laboured to engage his brother, and those who adhered to him, in a negotiation; but Don Alphonso refused to listen to any terms, and shewed, now he was in the wrong, and when it was to no purpose, a degree of spirit and prudence, that, if it had been exerted in time, might have prevented those calamities which his unsteady and fluctuating temper had brought upon his people as well as himself ^k.

But while Don Ramiro was engaged in the siege of Leon, and in the reduction of some places that had declared for his brother, he had intelligence that Don Alphonso, Don Ramiro, and Don Ordogno, the sons of king Froila, had taken up arms in Asturias, and that the eldest had assumed the title of king ^l. This revolt put it out of his power to proceed in the slow manner he had hitherto done; and yet, being unwilling to reduce the capital of his dominions by storm, he turned the siege into a close blockade. The inhabitants of Leon, soon finding themselves pressed by famine, signified to Don Alphonso, that they were unable to support him any longer, and that therefore he must endeavour to accommodate matters with his brother as well as he could. In this situation he resolved, to throw himself ^m on the clemency of Don Ramiro; and, upon his going out and submitting himself, that monarch entered the city of Leon, and granted a general pardon to all who had hitherto taken part with his brother; by which this political schism was extinguished, and Don Ramiro left at liberty to pursue the measures necessary for the reduction of the Asturias. But the people of this country, as soon as they were acquainted with the issue of the siege of Leon, sent to inform Don Ramiro, that, if he would come with a small train, they would deliver up the sons ⁿ of the late king Froila, and acknowledge him for their sovereign, to prevent the continuance of a civil war, and the effusion of Christian blood; a proposition plausible in itself, but not acceptable to the king, who suspected their sincerity.

He chose, therefore to march towards the Asturias with his victorious army, as the best argument of his

^k Chron. Var. Antiq. ^l Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. part. iii. ^m Luc. Tudenf. Chronicon. ⁿ Roderic Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv. Vasæi Chron.

right to subjects that were in arms ; and yet, halting on the frontiers, he sent them a message, that he expected they should perform their promise. This had the desired effect : whatever their first intention might be, they found themselves obliged to act as if it had been sincere. Accordingly, having seized the three princes before mentioned, they delivered them up to the king, who sent them and his brother to a place of strength, where they were kept close prisoners, and deprived of their eyesight ; but the king being some time after informed, that those who were about these unhappy princes treated them with great indignity, he caused them to be removed to the monastery of St. Julian de Ruisorco, which he had lately built, where, by his express direction, they were used with all possible lenity, as well as with all the respect due to their high birth^o. About this time died queen Urraca, the consort of Don Ramiro, by whom he had a son Don Ordugno, which it becomes necessary to remark, that the reader may not confound them with the queen and son of his brother, who were both of the same names ; and because the epitaph of this princess, remaining on her tomb in the royal chapel of Oviedo, fixes that chronology which we have followed, and indeed puts it beyond all dispute^p.

A. D. 937.

As soon as Don Ramiro found himself in peaceable possession of his dominions, he executed with great spirit and vigour that expedition which he had so long meditated against the Moors, penetrated as far as Madrid, which he took by assault, proceeded to insult Toledo, one of the strongest and greatest cities in the hands of the Moors ; then he returned in triumph, loaded with spoils, followed by a multitude of slaves^q. At his return, he found his brother Don Alphonso the Fourth, furnished, from his misfortunes, the Monk and the Blind, dead in the monastery of St. Julian, to whose remains he caused all those honours to be paid that were due to his dignity^r. The king, however, had very little leisure to repose ; for Abderrahman, king of Cordova, incensed at the incursion he had made into his dominions, raised forces in every province of his kingdom, and sent to Aban Ahaya, who governed in Saragossa, but was his vassal, to march with all the forces that he could raise, and to take the

A. D. 932.

^o Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vassæi Chron.
 Antiq. ^q Roder. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.
 dens. Chron. Vassæi Chron.

^p Chron. Var.
^r Luc. Tu-

command. These preparations being known to Don Ferdinand Gonzalez, count of Castile, he gave immediate notice of them to the king, who kept his army together in the neighbourhood of Leon. As the season of the year advanced, he caused them to be reinforced with several corps of fresh troops, and, as soon as he had intelligence that the enemy were in motion, marched directly towards his frontiers. He found the Moors encamped in good order within sight of Osma, on a spacious plain, which gave them an opportunity of ranging themselves to the best advantage. Don Ramiro, though inferior in numbers, charged them with great vigour and resolution, and though they behaved with much courage, and rallied several times, yet in the end they were totally defeated with prodigious slaughter. At his return from this victory, the king was welcomed by the universal acclamations of all his subjects, and, as a mark of his piety, confirmed the privileges and donations granted by his predecessors to the church of St. James of Compostella^a.

A. D. 933.

In the beginning of the next year, the king held an assembly of his estates at Astorga, at which time the bishop of that see demanded that certain places should be annexed to his diocese, that had been conquered from the Moors, because they made a part of it before they came into Spain; of which due proof being made, the bishop's demand was complied with; a circumstance which we mention as a proof that the king retained in part the ecclesiastical supremacy that had been in his predecessors^c. At the rising of this assembly, the king formed a considerable army, with which he made an irruption into Arragon, in order to punish Aben Ahaya for the share he had in the last campaign. By the rapid progress he made in the conquest of that country, he alarmed him to such a degree, that he offered to become his feudatory also, and to pay him the same tribute that he payed to Abderrahman, a proposal which he readily accepted. Some strong places having revolted, in resentment of this submission, he reduced them, and, together with those he had before conquered, restored them to his new vassal^d. Before his return from this expedition, he concluded a marriage with Donna Theresa, sister to Don Garcia, king of Navarre, and, returning into his own dominions, passed the next year with his new queen in quiet. In the course of the

*Reduces
Aben
Ahaya,
prince of
Arragon.*

A. D. 934.

^a Chron. Var. Antiq. ^c Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan.
^b lib. iv. ^d Chron. Var. Antiq.

following year, Aben Ahaya sent deputies to Abderrahman, king of Cordova, to inform him that he had submitted to the Christians only through fear; and that if he would assemble a new army, sufficient to deliver him from any future apprehensions of Don Ramiro, he would join it with all his forces. To this proposal the king of Cordova readily assented: having drawn together a sufficient body of troops, he made an irruption into the territories of Leon, and reduced the town of Sotocuvás, supposed to be that now called Covarrubias, where he made a great slaughter of the Christians.

*Obtains
two glorious
victories.*

The king of Cordova was very far from being satisfied with this small advantage. Having made use of all the reputation it gave him, he increased the number of his forces, and having procured considerable supplies from Africa, and giving Aben Ahaya notice to join him with all that he could raise, he drew together an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. Don Ramiro, perceiving that his enemy had nothing less in view than the conquest of the kingdoms of Leon and Oviedo, and driving him back to the Asturias, assembled all the forces that he could collect in his own dominions, or procure from his allies; but as this effort required time, and the Moors were in the field in the month of May, they had time to reduce all the country beyond the Duero, since it was the beginning of August before the Christian army was in a condition to look them in the face. At length the king, having first made a vow at the altar of St. James of Compostella, put himself at the head of his forces, and marched directly against the enemy, whom he found encamped in the plains of Simancas, at the confluence of the Pisuerga and the Duero. In this situation he attacked them on the 6th of August: notwithstanding they received him with great courage, and made a most obstinate resistance, yet they were defeated early in the afternoon, and the king continued the pursuit with such slaughter, that the infidels lost fourscore thousand men*. After this glorious victory, by which his army was prodigiously enriched, the king was on the point of returning to his own dominions, when he was informed that Abderrahman had begun to collect the remains of his broken army, and had established his head-quarters a little beyond Salamanca; upon which he marched with great celerity, and attacked the Moors so unexpectedly, that he gained another victory

* Rod. Toletan. H. S. Arabum.

as complete as the former, and at a much cheaper rate *. At his return to Leon, he caused the traitor Aben Ahaya, who had been taken in the first battle, to be shut up in a tower, and threatened to punish him as a rebel : and, as soon as he had refreshed his troops, disposed them into quarters into the country beyond the Duero, having taken a resolution to extend his dominions as far as that chain of mountains which divides the two Castiles, intending to form a double frontier, one along the territories still possessed by the Moors, and the other of the great towns situated upon the Duero †.

In order to form this barrier, he sent his orders to some of the principal nobility, such as count Nuno Nunez, to repair Osma, count Ferdinand Gonzales to restore Sepulveda, Don Gonzalez Fernandez to put Clunia, now Coroghaim, in a state of defence, as also St. Stephen de Gormaz and Riaza, all of which seem to have been ruined by Abderrahman, perhaps in the beginning of the last campaign ; they performed these orders indeed, but they acted with regret. When fresh orders came from that monarch to these lords to raise their respective forces, and to be ready to take the field with him against the Moors, they declined that service ; by which refusal, for the present, the king's intentions were defeated. Incensed at their disobedience, he, with the army he had assembled to act against the common enemy, fell upon them, and, having easily subdued, brought count Ferdinand Gonzales and count Diego Nunez prisoners to Leon. From thence he sent the former to the castle of Gordon, and the other to that of Luna ‡.

A. D. 939.

It appears very evidently from this transaction, that however potent these counts might be, yet they were not hitherto independent of the crown of Leon, and served with Don Ramiro in his expedition as allies, and not as subjects †, as Mariana, and most of the Spanish historians affirm.

The true motives of this monarch's conduct.

Those noblemen however, appearing sensible of their error, and promising obedience for the future to his commands, were set at liberty, and, which is more, restored to his favour. He very soon after married his son Don Ordogno to Donna Urraca †, the daughter of count Ferdinand Gonzalez by Donna Sancha infanta of Navarre ;

* Chron. Var. Antiq.

† Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par.

iii.

‡ Chron. Var. Antiq.

§ Historia General de

Hispana, lib. vii.

¶ Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iii.

A.D. 941.

than which there could not be a more convincing testimony that all former disputes were absolutely buried in oblivion. It is also probable that the king consented to a truce ^c with the Moors for seven years, during which time he caused several monasteries to be erected, repaired the fortifications of most of the great towns in his dominions, and held a general council ^d of the clergy at Astorga, for reforming disorders that had crept into the discipline of the church.

*Inva-
des the terri-
tories of the
Moors.*

As soon as the truce was expired, the king, with the concurrence, in all probability, of his nobility, immediately entered the dominions of the Moors; and, having passed the mountains of Avila, advanced as far as Talavera, near which he met with a numerous army sent against him by the king of Cordova; upon which a very warm action ensued, and the king, though not without some difficulty, at length obtained a complete victory, twelve thousand Moors being killed upon the spot, and seven thousand taken prisoners, with whom, and a vast booty, he returned to Leon ^e. There he reposed himself for some days, and then went to Oviedo, where, finding himself indisposed, he returned presently to Leon, where perceiving that his end approached, he resigned his crown ^f, and soon after expired, universally regretted, January the 5th, in the year 950, after he had reigned nineteen years and very near three months, leaving by his first queen the prince Don Ordogno, and the princess Donna Elvira, and, by his second, the prince Don Sanchez. His body was interred in a monastery of his own foundation, where the princess Elvira was a nun.

*Don Or-
dogno III.
succeeds
his father.*

Don Ordogno III. succeeded his father by the unanimous consent of the nobility, and appears to have been, in every respect, a prince of great fortitude of mind, and of consummate prudence, which as they displayed themselves in the first acts of his reign, so they were equally conspicuous in the last actions of his life. He was no sooner seated on the throne than his brother Don Sanchez made a very unreasonable request: he pretended that they were joint heirs of their father; and that therefore he ought to have some part of his dominions assigned him; to which partition Don Ordogno would not agree, concluding, that, as the consent of the nobility

^c Vaf. Chron. Rod Tolet Hist. Arab.

Vaf. Chron.

Var. Antiq.

^e Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^d Luc. Tudenf.

^f Chron.

was necessary to his election, he could have no right to divide dominions that were confided to him entire for the common benefit of his subjects. Don Sanchez, however, was supported by the king of Navarre, his uncle, who had a desire to set a crown upon his head ; and, which was very extraordinary, by count Ferdinand Gonzalez, whose daughter the king had married, and who, notwithstanding, desired to see his power lessened, that he might be more on a level with him, and in less danger upon a revolt. Don Ordogno having no regard either to plausible arguments or to menaces, Don Sanchez retired to his uncle ; and his protectors, having levied a great army, resolved to execute by force the scheme they had formed : but, upon approaching the territories of Don Ordogno, they found his frontiers so well secured, and his forces so judiciously disposed, that, being unwilling to risk their own countries by an unsuccessful attempt, they very wisely thought proper to retire ^g, without committing any hostilities. Thus the excellence of his father's maxims, and the rectitude of his own conduct in pursuing them, appeared to his new subjects in their true light. Yet, as the very best kings are still but men, this success was followed by an action that spoke more resentment than one could have expected should reside in the breast of so wise and so magnanimous a prince.

The confederates had no sooner withdrawn their troops from the frontiers of his dominions, and fallen out amongst themselves, than king Ordogno ^h repudiated his wife Donna Urraca, the daughter of count Ferdinand Gonzalez, and sent her back to him ; adding another circumstance to this affront, still more provoking, which was, that he immediately married ⁱ Donna Elvira, the daughter of some man of great quality in Galicia, by whom, the year following, he became the father of a prince whom he called Don Bermudo. As his divorce was the sequel of a foreign, so his new marriage was the cause of a civil war ; the relations of the new queen presuming so much upon that honour, as to behave in such a manner to their neighbours, that it produced an insurrection. Don Ordogno laboured all he could to pacify his revolted subjects by fair means ; but finding these endeavours unsuccessful, he advanced to the frontiers of Galicia with a considerable

A. D. 953.

*Suppresses
an insur-
rection in
Galicia.*

^g Chron. Var. Antiq.
Hist. de Hispan, par. iv.
lib. iv.

^h Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. Ferr.
ⁱ Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan.

body of troops. Before he proceeded to action, he proclaimed a free pardon, and promised to redress all their grievances; upon which those who were in arms immediately ranged themselves under the royal standard. Entering the territories of the Moors, they penetrated as far as Lisbon, which they took and demolished, and then returned with immense riches and a prodigious multitude of slaves.

At the very time that Don Ordogno threw himself into the enemy's country, count Ferdinand Gonzalez, with the forces of Castile, made a like irruption into the kingdom of Cordova on the other side, which, with respect to the event of the war, had the same effect as if he had acted by the king's command ^k. However, on his return into his own dominions, Don Ordogno, at the head of his victorious forces, marched towards the frontiers of Castile; but count Ferdinand Gonzalez prevented things from coming to extremities, by presenting himself before the king, intreating his pardon ^l for what was past, insisting upon his late service, and assuring Don Ordogno that the Moors were preparing to invade Castile. The king was so well satisfied with this submission, that he not only laid aside all his rancour against that nobleman, but likewise promised him supplies, in case the king of Cordova persisted in his intentions; and it was with their assistance that count Ferdinand Gonzalez acquired soon after a glorious victory ^m over the common enemy. About the middle of the summer, the king making a journey from Leon to Zamora, found himself very much indisposed, and shortly after died, about the middle of the year 955, when he had discharged the regal function with universal applause for five years and a half. Upon his demise, the queen and her young son retired to some of her relations in Galicia, being sensible that she had no interest amongst the nobility capable of raising her infant to the throne.

Don Sanchez succeeds his brother.

Don Sanchez, quitting his retreat at the court of Navarre, hastened immediately to Leon, on the news of his brother's death; and, notwithstanding his long absence, and the circumstances that attended it, the nobility, foreseeing less inconvenience from that than from any other step they could take, proclaimed him king ⁿ. He is commonly

^k Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Vaf Chron.

^l Rod. Santii, ubi supra. Chron. Var. Ant'q.

^m Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arabum. ⁿ Mar. Hist. General de Hispana, lib. viii. Ferr. Historia de Hispana, par. iv. Mayerne Turq. Histoire General d'Espagne, liv. vii.

called Sanchez the Gros by some, and by others, though very improperly, Sanchez the Fat; this surname being given him on the score of a dropsy. He was a prince of no great parts, and of less activity; however, he might probably have ruled quietly enough, if some sinister methods had not been taken to disturb the peace of his government. These were the artifices of Count Ferdinand Gonzalez, who, still aiming at independency, took his measures so secretly and so effectually for inflaming the disputes between the king and his subjects, that at length he raised them so high as frightened Don Sanchez into a second retreat to the court of his uncle the king of Navarre. By this retreat the kingdom of Leon was left in a kind of anarchy, and consequently count Ferdinand Gonzalez without a master, a circumstance, which, in some measure, answered his purpose. But, however, this did not satisfy his ambition; for, not content with being released from vassalage, he now aimed at nothing less than becoming protector of the kingdom of Leon, by substituting a new king in the room of Don Sanchez.

A.D. 956.

The prince upon whom he fixed his eyes was Don Ordugno^o, the son of Don Alphonso IV. surnamed the Monk, or the Blind; and, as the price of promoting his election, he obliged him to marry Donna Urraca his daughter, who, by this match, had a second time the title of queen of Leon^p. The nobility were by no means willing to venture upon a measure, the ill consequences of which were so apparent; and yet, by his interest, it was at last accomplished. The new king began in a little time to act in a manner so inconsistent with his dignity, that they fixed upon him the surname of Don Ordugno the Wicked^q. As for Don Sanchez, finding his disorder increase, he resolved, by the advice of his uncle the king of Navarre, to go to Cordova, in hopes of receiving that relief from the Moorish physicians, which the most skillful in the court of Navarre were unable to afford. Thither accordingly he went. Abderrahman received him with great kindness, and the Mohammedan doctors, whether by skill or by lucky chance, freed him from his malady entirely. As instances of good or ill fortune seldom come alone, so he was scarce recovered from his disease, before it was insinuated to him by some emissaries from Leon, that his subjects were heartily tired of the

*The count
of Castile
sets up
Don Or-
dogno.*

A. D. 975.

^o Mar. Ferrer. Mayerne Turq. ubi supra. ^p Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Val. Chron. ^q Rod. Sanctii Hist. Hisp.

tyranny of Don Ordogno ; and that if he could appear with but a small force on the frontier, he might be assured he would meet with no resistance. Don Sanchez, relying on the generosity of his protector, communicated this news to Abderrahman, who very kindly offered him his assistance, but at the same time advised him to demand that likewise of his uncle the king of Navarre ; who being founded on the subject, promised to support him effectually.

The proper measures being concerted between the two courts, the Moorish army, under the command of Don Sanchez, marched towards the frontiers of Leon, at the same time that the king of Navarre, with the whole force of his dominions, approached those of Castile. Don Ordogno, finding himself forsaken by all his subjects, who reviled him for his cruelties, fled into the remotest parts of the Asturias ; so that Don Sanchez was restored without any difficulty ; and, having gratified the chief officers of the Moorish army, dismissed them perfectly satisfied. On the other hand, Don Garcia, king of Navarre, having defeated count Ferdinand Gonzalez, and made him prisoner, carried him into his own dominions. Ordogno, understanding that the people of Asturias intended to seize and deliver him up, fled from thence to Burgos with his queen, where that princess was received with all imaginable respect, but the inhabitants would have nothing to do with Ordogno ; who thereupon retired to the Moors in Arragon, where, despised by the infidels, and hated by the Christians, he soon after died in a miserable manner^r. Don Sanchez, thus delivered from apprehensions, as well as enemies, thought proper to marry, and very wisely made choice of Donna Teresa^s, the daughter of one of the most considerable of his own nobility, a match that gave his subjects in general great satisfaction. The rejoicings for this marriage were hardly over, when the king received some mortifying intelligence from Galicia, where the Normans had landed unexpectedly, ravaged the country, and carried many of the inhabitants into slavery. This invasion gave a pretence to Sisenand, bishop of Compostella, to desire leave to wall and fortify that city, for the security of the cathedral, which, for those times, was already become exceedingly rich. This permission, which was readily granted, he quickly abused, by levying large sums upon the people for the expence of these

^r Luc. Tudens. Vas. Hisp. Chron.
Rebus Hisp.

^s Rod. Tolstan. de

works, and various other acts of oppression and extortion, of which complaint was made to the king^t.

All things being now in a tolerable state of quiet, the king of Navarre released count Ferdinand Gonzalez, at the intreaty of his wife, who was that monarch's sister^u. About this time also died Abderrahman king of Cordova, and was succeeded by his son Alhacan, to whom Don Sanchez immediately sent ambassadors, to congratulate him upon his succession, and to renew the treaties of peace subsisting between the two kingdoms^w. He then made a tour into Galicia, to inquire into the conduct of bishop Sisenand, which came in very good time; for that prelate, offended with a message that the king had sent him, was meditating a rebellion; but, upon the approach of Don Sanchez, the people every-where rose to execute the royal commands. The bishop being made prisoner, the king deposed him, and placed one Rosenindo at the head of that church, who, when the Normans made another descent in that neighbourhood, put himself at the head of his people, and, falling upon these pirates sword in hand, made such a slaughter that they visited the coasts of Galacia no more in his time. This prelate, for his virtue and his valour, has been since his death revered as a saint. Count Gonzalez, who was nearly related to bishop Sisenand, being intrusted with the government of the frontiers, basely betrayed his trust, and revolted against his sovereign; upon which Don Sanchez marched towards him with an army, and the rebel, finding himself abandoned, came and threw himself at his feet. The king pardoned him, and the traitor soon after took an opportunity to give him poison, of which he died the third day after^x, extremely regretted by the better part of his subjects for his mildness, moderation, and clemency.

The nobility were no sooner informed of the king's death than they assembled in order to a new election, and, after mature deliberation, they declared his son Don Ramiro III. king, though but five years old. They appointed his mother the queen dowager, and his aunt Donna Elvira, regents, who immediately dispatched instructions to the ambassador then resident at the court of Cordova,

Don Ramiro III. succeeds his father.

^t Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vaszi Chron.

Santii, ubi supra.

let. Hist. Arabum.

Santii Hist. Hispana.

^u Rod.

^w Chron. Var. Antiq. Rod. To-

^x Luc. Tudensis Chron. Rod.

to renew the treaty of peace with Alhacan; in which he met with no difficulty ^y. Sisenand, the deposed bishop of Compostella, finding means to make his escape out of the tower in which he was confined, returned to that city, and, by force of arms, reinstated himself in the bishoprick; Rosenindo, who had fought so bravely against the Normans, declining any resistance in his own cause. But not long after, those barbarous invaders, having intelligence on the coast of what had happened, landed in great numbers, and marched directly to Compostella. Sisenand, confiding in the numbers that he had about him, and desirous of equalling his predecessor in reputation, drew out the inhabitants to give them battle ^z; but, being killed in the beginning of the action, his people were so dispirited, that they were quickly routed, and cut to pieces. The Normans, elated by their victory, ravaged all the country as far as the mountains of Castile; and, having amassed immense wealth, began to retire towards their fleet; but, in their passage, were met by Don Gonzalez Sanchez, whom the regents had sent with a considerable body of troops to repel these bold invaders. The dispute was very obstinate and bloody, but at length Don Gonzalez gained a complete victory ^a; upon which the people rose every-where in the neighbourhood, and killed or made slaves all that were left, while Don Gonzalez, by a stratagem, burnt their fleet.

A. D. 970.

When Don Ramiro entered his 17th year, he married with the consent of the regents, a lady of a great family, whose name was Donna Urraca, and soon after assumed the reins of government. This young prince, in a short time, became so uxorious, that, slighting the advice of his mother and his aunt, he confided entirely in the relations of his new queen. This conduct highly disoblged the nobility, and particularly those of Galicia; who, lying farthest from the seat of government, were, in all probability, the worst treated. On conferring amongst themselves, and observing that the prince Don Bermudo, son to king Ordogno III. who had been bred up amongst them, had all the qualities requisite to form a great and a good prince, they unanimously declared him king. This nomination was so well received by the people in general, that they found no difficulty in raising an army

^y Chron. Var. Antiq. Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arab.
Tudens. Chron. Vazæi Hispana, Chron.
Hist. Hispana, Vazæi Chron.

^z Luc.
^a Rod. Santii

numerous enough to support their choice; neither did they shew themselves dispirited at all upon the approach of Don Ramiro, who came with a great army to reduce them. Their forces met upon the frontiers, and the dispute was so obstinate and bloody, that more were lost in this battle ^b than in any against the Moors; and yet they were parted by the night; so that neither side claimed the victory. However, Don Ramiro thought it best to return to Leon, in order to recruit his forces. While he was thus employed, he died ^c suddenly in the latter end of the year 982, in the fifteenth year of his reign, when he was about twenty years of age. He was buried near his grandfather Don Ramiro II. from whence, by the command of Don Ferdinand II. his body was removed to Astorga.

Don Bermudo II. was immediately acknowledged upon the decease of his competitor, and began his reign with very favourable circumstances. He observed that all ranks and degrees of his subjects were exceedingly degenerated; that the nobility were luxurious, haughty, and oppressive; that the common people copied their betters; and that the clergy, instead of reproofing the vices of the laity, were become equally vicious themselves. He began his reformation with them, because he found that several of the bishops were men of strict morals, and wanted only to be supported by authority in correcting their inferiors, and because he saw that this was acceptable to the people, as the laity, however vicious, have an abhorrence for all excesses among the clergy; and besides he made no doubt that a thorough reformation in the church would have a great effect upon the morals of the people in general. But while he was thus occupied, the Moors, who considered themselves as disengaged from all treaties by the death of Don Ramiro, under the command of Mohammed Almanzor, Alhagib, or prime minister, to Hishem king of Cordova, made an irruption into his dominions, and formed the siege of Simencas, a place well fortified. The inhabitants made a gallant defence, which might have preserved it, if the king had been in any condition to relieve them; but so many had fallen in the fatal battle at his accession, that he found it absolutely impossible to bring an army into the field; so that, after a long siege, the Moors became masters of Simencas, and carried all the people who were left therein into slavery.

Don Bermudo II. acknowledged king of Oviedo and Leon.

A. D. 984.

^b Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispana, lib. iv. Chron. Var. Antiq.
^c Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vassæ Chron.

There is no doubt but the king must have been grievously afflicted with the consideration of a disgrace beyond any that had happened to his predecessors; but as the Moors turned their arms against other Christian principalities, without prosecuting the war against him, he contented himself with the pursuit of his former measures, labouring as much as in him lay to make his subjects comprehend the necessity of resuming the frugal and industrious manner of life for which their ancestors had been distinguished. He took care likewise to second his exhortations by his example, and was always more indulgent to the meaner than the better sort of people. Don Pelayo, who was of the same faction with Don Sisenand, and who succeeded him in the bishoprick of Compostella, having slighted the king's admonitions to relinquish his vices, and to behave with more moderation to the people, Don Bermudo went thither in person, and deposed him; upon which that false prelate, with many of his adherents, retired to the Moors, who had a little before taken the city of Zamora, and treated the inhabitants with as little mercy as they had shewn to those of Simencas. If the king had not been a prince of true piety, and of the most steady resolution, these misfortunes must have induced an alteration in his conduct; for the Moors were continually victorious, himself in no condition to oppose them, and numbers of his subjects, who preferred ease and a dissolute life to all considerations of honour and religion, daily deserted him, and sought protection from the infidels.

*At length
ventures a
battle
against
Almanzor.*

Mohammed Almanzor, perceiving that the frontiers of Leon lay now open, assembled a very numerous army, and took the field early with a settled intention to penetrate into the heart of the country. Don Bermudo had foreseen his aim, and prepared in the best manner he was able for his reception. His army, however, was much inferior to that of the infidels; but the king, confiding in Providence and the courage of his troops, ventured to give them battle on the banks of the river Ezla, and, after a brisk dispute, put them to flight^d. But Mohammed Almanzor, when he saw his army in confusion, dismounted from his horse, sat himself down in the field, threw his turban upon the ground, and, laying his arms across his breast, declared he would remain there, since he was abandoned by his troops. This expedient had the effect

^d Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Vafæi Chron.

he expected; his forces returned to the charge, and the Christians, being disordered in their pursuit, were in their turn defeated^c. The victory, however, cost the Moors so dear, that it put it out of their power to do any thing more that campaign; so that Mohammed Almançor satisfied himself with swearing, that the next year, he would not fail to come and plunder Leon. The king, knowing the temper of the man, and the superiority of his forces, ordered whatever was valuable either in the city or in the churches to be removed. He likewise caused the bodies of the kings to be transported into the Asturias. Having repaired the fortifications, and placed a strong garrison in Leon, he retired with his family, and most of the prelates and nobility, into the same country^f.

Mohammed Almançor, in the beginning of the spring, invested Leon with a more numerous army than the Moors had ever brought into the field; and, having carried on the siege in form till a large breach was made, he caused it to be attacked, and carried by assault; after which, he demolished it so effectually, that, except a tower which he left to mark the place where it stood, there did not remain one stone upon another^g. He proceeded next to Astorga, which immediately capitulated. Supposing he should have the same good fortune wherever he came, he entered the Asturias, and attacked the castles of Gordon and Luna; but as they were well fortified, and had good garrisons, he was repulsed with loss; upon which he returned to Cordova^h. Next year he entered Portugal, made himself master of Coimbra, Viseo, and Lamego; into which he put good garrisons, and from thence proceeded to Braga, which making some resistance, he demolished after it fell into his hands, and sent the people into slavery. He pushed this torrent of success so far as to ravage Galicia also. By the assistance of that perfidious prelate Don Pelayo, and his father count Roderiguez Velasquez, he entered Compostella, which he likewise destroyed; and would have proceeded still farther, if the dysentery prevailing among his troops, had not obliged him to retreat. The king Don Bermudo ordered his generals to follow him; and they made a dreadful slaughter amongst his people, which provoked him to such a de-

*The Moors
become
masters of
Leon.*

A. D. 947.

^c Chron. Var. Antiq.
^g Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.
Chron.

^f Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii.
^h Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vasci

greeⁱ, that, with dreadful blasphemies and imprecations, he threatened to come the next year, and complete the ruin of Galicia. For this purpose, he not only drew together the whole forces of his master's kingdom, but procured likewise great supplies from^h Africa; and as all this could not be done without the knowledge of the Christians, so the very terror that he took so much pains to spread, was that which turned most to their advantage. Don Bermudo, coming in person into Galicia, laboured all he could to revive the spirits of his subjects, at the same time that he sent some of the most venerable prelates in his kingdom to solicit Don Garcias king of Navarre, and the Castilians, notwithstanding they had thrown off all allegiance to the crown of Leon, not to desert the common cause of the Christian faith at a time when it was in such apparent danger. These negotiations were happily conducted with as much success as he could wish, and very probably with more than he expected.

This triple alliance being thus concluded, all the princes used their utmost efforts to render their troops as complete as possible, and resolved, as the only effectual means to make any resistance against so formidable an enemy, to unite and bring but one army into the field, upon the frontiers of Castile, where the count Don Garcias Fernandez encamped first with his troops, and was speedily joined by the king Don Bermudo, though he was so infirm that he was carried into the field in a chair. Don Garcias, king of Navarre, brought a considerable army to the assistance of his allies, and their troops were scarce united, before the Moors, under Mohammed Almanzor, advanced towards them, and took post in the neighbourhood of Osma. The confederate princes reviewed their troops, and, after putting up solemn prayers to God, made no scruple of acquainting them with the true situation of things, and that the being of their respective governments, the freedom of the Christians in Spain, and, in short, all that was dear to them either in regard to honour or to their faith, depended on their valour. The reason of this declaration was to discern the temper of the troops, and from thence to determine on the measures that were to be taken. After a short silence, the army unanimously demanded to be led to battle; and the princes, who had made the necessary dispositions, instantly began their march. They encamped within sight of

ⁱ Chron. Varr. Antiq.

the enemy, and Mohammed Almançor, presenting himself next day in order of battle, the Christians gallantly received, and vigorously returned, the charge. The dispute lasted the whole day with such resolution, that both armies seemed invincible; but, as night came on, the Moors, retired to their camp, the confederates remained upon the field in the midst of dead and dying, their princes using their utmost endeavours to collect and dispose their troops in the best order possible; recommending themselves to Providence, and beseeching God either to render them his instruments in the protection of the Christian faith, or to grant them mercy for the sake of their endeavours. As the day began to break, they were surprised to see nothing of the Moors; and, having ordered some squadrons to reconnoitre their camp, they were still more amazed that all things were as silent there. After remaining some time in suspense, they advanced in good order, and found it totally abandoned. Almançor found his loss so great, that he ordered those who were left to shift for themselves, and, retiring himself to Medina Celi, obstinately refused food, and died for want of sustenance^k.

A. D. 998.

This victory was as glorious as it was decisive. It is affirmed, that the infidels lost a hundred thousand men^l upon the spot; the plunder of their camp enriched all the Christian armies; which separating soon after, returned to their respective countries^m. Don Bermudo being in a very precarious state of health, a great nobleman in the Asturias, flattering himself with vain hopes, endeavoured to murder the infant Don Alphonso, this monarch's only son; for which attempt he was punished as he deserved, and his estate given to the church of Oviedoⁿ. A very short time after this transaction, Don Bermudo, who from his being grievously afflicted with that distemper, was surnamed the Gouty, departed this life, in the year 999, in Galicia, and was buried at a place called Valbuena. Don Pelayo, bishop of Oviedo, who flourished in the twelfth century, and wrote a history of his reign, has extremely blackened his character, with what view it is impossible to discover; but that this is the fact, appears by the comparison of his writings with those authors who were cotemporaries with this monarch,

^k Rod. Santihi Hist. Hisp. p. iii.
Chron. ^m Chron. Var. Antiq.
bus Hispan lib. iv.

^l Luc. Tud. Chron. Vazæi
ⁿ Rod. Tolet. de Re-

as well as from certain circumstances he relates, and which cannot possibly be true; and yet from this chronicle many things have been inadvertently borrowed by other historians.

Don Alphonso V. elected king.

The nobility assembled soon after the king's death, and elected the infant Don Alphonso, though a child, appointing his mother Donna Elvira regent, and continuing the care of his person to Don Melendo Gonçalez, with whom the king had hitherto intrusted him. Abdalmelech, who succeeded his father Mohammed Almançor, as Alhagib, or prime minister to the king of Cordova, took the field with a considerable army, in order to lay waste the kingdom of Leon; but the queen dowager demanding the assistance of Garcias count of Castile, to whom she likewise sent a body of troops, he fell upon the Moors, and defeated them. The disputes and civil wars, that afterwards broke out in the kingdom of Cordova, proved very favourable to this minority; during which the regency not only governed wisely at home, but negotiated the restitution of the little country of Alava, which the count of Castile had taken from the family of La Vela, who, by sheltering themselves, with their adherents, in the territories of Cordova, had been the chief promoters of these wars, and had furnished Mohammed Almançor with several Christian corps, from whom he had received great service. But, upon this restitution of their patrimony, they quitted the infidels, and, returning home, quickly drew after them their adherents, a circumstance which proved of great advantage to the Christian cause.

A.D. 1014.

Marries, assumes the government, and proves a great prince.

There have been very few instances of a regency better conducted than this, during the minority of Don Alphonso V. of Leon, who was educated with such care, that he became one of the wisest and best princes of his time. As a proof of his gratitude to Don Melendo Gonçalez, his governor, he married his daughter Donna Elvira, a princess whose great virtues, and more especially her humility, made her universally beloved. Upon her son's marriage, the queen dowager retired, with her two daughters, into the monastery of St. Pelayo at Oviedo; and Ferreras has very clearly proved, that the strange story told by Pelagius bishop of Oviedo, whom we have before mentioned, of Don Alphonso's forcing his sister Donna Theresa to espouse against her will a Moorish prince of Toledo, is an absolute falsehood, notwithstanding the credit given to it by many eminent writers. From the time of his marriage the king governed his dominions without

without assistance, and gave such encouragement for rebuilding the towns that had been destroyed, and repopulating the country that had been abandoned, as had all the effect he could desire, at the same time that it prompted the nobility to follow his example, and procured him the esteem and affection of all his subjects. It is true, that the civil wars amongst the Moors afforded him the leisure to do all this ; and the flight of the Christians out of their dominions, who, in such times of confusion, were plundered by all parties, furnished him with the means.

At length his dominions having, in a great measure, changed their appearance, the king solicited his nobility ° to assist him in the rebuilding Leon, which they readily promised, and as cheerfully accomplished, the king in person presiding over that important work. When it was in some measure finished, the king summoned an assembly of the states †, which was opened on the 1st of August 1020 ; at which time the cathedral church was consecrated, and many new regulations were made for restoring the discipline of the church, and for promoting industry and frugality among the people. Four years afterwards he caused the city of Zamora ‡ to be repaired ; to which he also gave particular attention, on account of his design to render it the strongest place on his frontiers ; and when he once saw it in a state of defence, he thought it time to accustom his subjects to make incursions into the territories of the infidels. Next year he passed the Duero with a considerable army, and marched to Viseo, where, the Moors having a good garrison, the place made some defence ; so that he was constrained to besiege it in form. The weather being very hot, the king rode without his cuirass in order to determine the place where a breach should be made. By this imprudence, he was mortally wounded by an arrow from the walls, and died † in his tent, May the 5th, 1027, in the 28th year of his reign, and the 34th of his life. His body being removed to Leon, was interred in the church of St. John the Baptist, sincerely regretted by his subjects, by whom, for his piety, liberality, and courage, he was universally beloved. He left by his queen two children, the prince Don Bermudo, and the infanta Donna Sancha.

A.D. 1016.

Killed at a
siege.

° Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iii.

Chron. Vaf. Chron.

liv. iv.

‡ Luc. Tudens.

† Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan.

Chron. Var. Antiq.

Don Bermudo III. succeeds his father under a regency.

The nobility made no scruple of declaring Don Bermudo king in the room of his father. The disturbances continuing, and even increasing, among the Moors, afforded the queen dowager, and the principal lords intrusted with the regency, time to establish the tranquility of the kingdom, not a little disturbed by the unexpected death of the late monarch. The king of Navarre, who had the principal care of Don Garcias count of Castile, gave the clearest assurances to the young king of Leon of his esteem and respect, as well as of his resolution to perform punctually the engagements into which he had entered with the king and his father; all which gave great satisfaction to the nobility, who likewise saw with pleasure a sedateness and an activity in their young monarch, not to be expected at his years. Don Sanchez king of Navarre, conceiving it high time to marry his ward, applied himself to the court of Leon, and represented the great advantages that would result to the common cause of the Christians in Spain, and to the kingdom of Leon in particular, by the marriage of the young count Don Garcias of Castile with the infanta Donna Sancha; which being indeed apparent, the king, the queen mother, and the nobility, were equally ready in embracing the proposal^s. A little before the time prefixed for this marriage, some affairs of importance obliged Don Bermudo to repair into the Asturias; but he promised to return to Leon against the day appointed for the marriage.

A.D. 1027.

A.D. 1028.

Don Sanchez, count of Castile, assassinated at Leon.

At this juncture, Roderic, Diego, and Inigo, the sons of the count de Vela, were meditating, from a principle of revenge, the death of the innocent Don Garcias count of Castile; and concluding that the absence of Don Bermudo might facilitate this design, they resolved to put it in execution at Leon. Accordingly having conveyed themselves into that city, the very night that Don Garcias arrived, they took an opportunity, as he went the next day to church, to stab him^t in the street. Though they were immediately attacked by the nobility of Castile and Leon, who were about him, yet, being well attended and well provided with arms, they carried their point in making their escape^u. They found means afterwards to surprise the town of Moncon, in the neighbourhood of Palencia, where they doubted not but to be able to defend themselves till they could be relieved by the Moors. But in

^s Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Vaszi Chron.

^t Chron. Var.

Ansq.

^u Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. liv. iv.

this hope, they were mistaken; for Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, followed them with such expedition, and prosecuted the siege with such vigour, that the place was very quickly taken by storm, and all the garrison put to the sword, except the three assassins, who, by order of the king, were deservedly burnt alive.

This monarch was now become exceeding powerful, as having added many fair provinces to his hereditary kingdom of Navarre, to which he now annexed the county of Castile. Don Bermudo therefore applied himself to this great king, in order to obtain the daughter of count Sanchez of Castile, whose name was Donna Urraca Theresa. That monarch, desirous of uniting him to his interests, yielded very readily to his request, and the marriage was solemnized towards the close of the year with great splendor and magnificence. Next year there happened some stirrs in Galicia; and the queen was delivered of a son, baptized by the name of Alonso, who did not live many days. The commotions in Galicia being again renewed, and the malecontents, under another chief, having broke out into open rebellion, Don Bermudo, who was a prince of great vivacity, marched thither so speedily with a body of forces, that these plunderers abandoned their country, to prevent falling into the king's hands, who confiscated their estates, and gave them to the church of St. James at Compostella. About the same time, he deposed and imprisoned the bishop of that see for his bad behaviour and immoral life, a clear proof not only of the virtue and spirit of this young prince, but likewise of his preserving that prerogative which had been exercised by his predecessors the ancient kings of the Goths; for, notwithstanding the popes before this time had begun to extend their authority over the clergy in Spain, yet it is plain they had not begun to question the royal power in reforming ecclesiastical as well as temporal abuses, because, in all probability, they had not hitherto had a fair opportunity.

Don Sanchez king of Navarre, having given orders for repairing the cathedral and city of Palencia, which he considered as a place belonging to his county of Castile, Don Bermudo expressed great resentment thereat, asserting that it belonged to his kingdom of Leon; and, notwithstanding all the reasons that could be offered to dissuade him from it, declared war against him; upon which Don Sanchez, at the head of a numerous army, made an irruption into his dominions, and in a short time became master of all the countries between the rivers of Pisuerga

and Cea, and, before the close of the campaign, besieged and took the city of Astorga. Don Bermudo saw his progress, with grief and resentment, as not having an army sufficient to hinder it; and therefore retiring into Galicia, he spent the winter in recruiting his forces, and, in the spring, marched with a numerous army to recover what he had lost. But Don Sanchez, being determined to preserve his conquest, had likewise assembled the forces of Castile, and prepared to give him battle, which was prevented by the interposition of the prelates who attended them both. These represented the consequences of this dispute in so strong a light, that a peace ^w was at length concluded; by which Don Bermudo made a cession of the country between the two rivers, as the portion of his sister Donna Sancha, and the king of Navarre gave Castile to his second son Don Ferdinand, who, it was agreed, upon espousing the infanta, should assume the title of king ^x. This marriage was accordingly celebrated at the time prefixed, at Leon; and Don Bermudo, to shew the sincerity of this reconciliation, or rather to dissemble the insincerity of it, put himself to such an expence, as in those days amazed all the beholders, and in that respect very probably answered his purpose ^y.

This conjunction of interests was equally acceptable to the people of Navarre, Castile, and Leon, who saw themselves from thence protected against all apprehensions of the Moors, who were at this juncture involved in numberless quarrels among themselves, and split into so many principalities, that they were far less terrible to the Christians than in times past. One would have imagined that, having this example before his eyes, and being, as he really was, a very wise and penetrating, as well as great and good king, Don Sanchez would not have been guilty of the same error, or have taken, at the end of his days, a resolution of putting, as far as was in his power, the Christians on a level with the Moors in this respect; but his paternal affection for his four sons overcame all other considerations, so that, at his decease, which happened in the succeeding year, that is, in 1035 ^z, he divided his extensive dominions amongst them, and so made them all kings. Don Garcias had Navarre, Biscay, and the province of Rioja ^a; Don Ferdinand kept the kingdom

^w Luc. Tudens. Chron. ^x Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iii.
^y Fran. Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. ^z Chron. Var. Antiq.
^a Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv.

of Castile, which had been bestowed upon him in his father's life-time ^b; Don Gonzales had the counties of Sobraba and Ribargorce, with the title of king; and Don Ramiro enjoyed Arragon ^c. This power, which had been so formidable in the hands of one, became far less so by this division; and as at first sight the consequence might be apprehended by reason, so it was immediately afterwards justified from experience in many instances, of which we shall have occasion to speak in their turns; but at present our business lies only with the first, the consequences of which were very considerable.

Don Bermudo had yielded very unwillingly a considerable district, for the sake of peace, and because he found his subjects were averse to support him in a war against the king of Navarre. Though at last he seemed to come into this cession with a good grace, by that magnificence with which he celebrated his sister's wedding, yet he retained the resentment of this disgrace, and the desire of wiping it away, whenever a favourable opportunity should offer; so that we need not at all wonder he took the advantage of Don Sanchez's death, and the division he had made of his territories, to recover the country he had lost. It is certain that he used but little ceremony on this occasion; for, marching immediately with a considerable body of troops into the territories of his brother-in-law, he besieged and took the city of Palentia, which had given rise to the first dispute. As the inhabitants of the adjacent places were willing to return to their old master, and as Don Ferdinand did not think fit to take the field in their defence, the king of Leon did his business in a single campaign, and then returned in triumph to his capital ^d, without attempting any thing farther. Perhaps he was of opinion that a negotiation might secure what by force of arms had been acquired; yet in this, as it often happens to princes of greater experience than Don Bermudo, he found himself absolutely mistaken. The measures which he had ascribed to timidity, or a sense of former injustice, were in reality the effects of policy and a superior understanding.

Don Bermudo invades Castile.

Don Ferdinand had raised a considerable force, in order to cover his country, if the king of Leon had attempted to push his conquests any farther; but, instead of sending to intreat a peace, as was expected, he applied himself to

^b Luc. Tudens. Chronicon.

^c Rod. Sant. ubi supra

^d Alfonsi a Carthagina Reg. Hisp. Anacephalazosis.

his brother Don Garcias, and demanded supplies from him, upon a presumption that Don Bermudo meant to annex his kingdom to his own. Don Garcias, either out of fraternal affection, or from a just apprehension that Don Bermudo would become too formidable a neighbour if he should re-annex Castile to Leon, marched with a strong body of his father's veteran troops to join those of Don Ferdinand that were incamped in the neighbourhood of Burgos ^d. The king of Leon had no sooner intelligence of the motions of the two brothers than he drew together the force of his three kingdoms, Asturias, Leon, and Galicia, and, with an army far superior to that of the kings of Navarre and Castile, entering the last mentioned kingdom, advanced as far as the valley of Tamara, near Fromista ^e. The two brothers, seeing that nothing was to be expected but from force, put their troops likewise in motion, which brought on a decisive battle near Carriou. The great impetuosity of Bermudo's temper engaged him to charge with the cavalry that were about his person into the very centre of the enemy's troops, where, while he looked about for either of the two kings, he was thrust into the breast by a spear, and immediately sunk down from his horse ^f. Such as attended him, believing he was wounded, fought desperately on all sides, that they might have room to remount and carry him off; but when they came to take him up, they perceived that he was dead; and this lowered their spirits so much that they fell an easy prey to the enemy ^g.

The knowledge of this event was no sooner spread through the army than every thing fell into confusion, and that martial spirit, for which they had been so long famous, deserted them at once; so that, in all probability, a dreadful carnage would have been made amongst people so astonished, that they wanted presence of mind to defend themselves; but Don Ferdinand, who was a prince of great penetration and magnanimity, interposed, and, with some peril to himself, put an end to the dispute. He then ordered the body of the king his brother-in-law to be taken up, and sent back to Leon, with orders that it should be interred with all imaginable marks of esteem and deference, a step which had a good effect upon the minds of the people, and disposed them to afford a quiet, if not a cheerful reception. For, as soon as that melancholy

^d Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.
^f Fran. Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan.

^e Luc. Tudens. Chron.
^g Chron. Var. Antiqu.

solemnity was over, Don Ferdinand made his public entry into Leon, and representing to the nobility, that the male line of Reccared the Catholic, by Don Pedro duke of Cantabria, was extinct in their late sovereign, and putting them in mind that he had married his sister, they readily acknowledged him for their king^b, and he was accordingly crowned on the 22d day of June, 1037, in the cathedral, by the then bishop of Leon. The subjects of that monarchy in general acquiesced under this revolution, the Galicians only excepted, who began to take up arms in maintenance of their liberty; upon which Don Ferdinand marched with his forces to the frontiers of that province, and partly by persuasion, partly by menaces, prevailed upon them to be quiet; only some who, from their old hatred to the Castilians, were determined never to submit to him, retired under Don Sisenand, a powerful and high-spirited nobleman, into the territories of a Moorish king, whose capital was Seville, and put themselves under his protectionⁱ.

Thus this monarchy, after it had subsisted almost three hundred and twenty years, under twenty-three princes, from Don Pelayo and his race, came at length, partly by marriage, and partly by conquest, to be united to that of Castile; yet not so thoroughly but that it was afterwards disjoined and governed by its particular princes, but all of the house of this Don Ferdinand, till by degrees, and after repeated convulsions, these states were so thoroughly moulded and incorporated with each other, as not to admit of any future separation. But before we proceed to the detail of these events, it will be necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, and a steady adherence to the method which we have hitherto pursued, to give the reader a succinct account of the princes of Castile, from the time of its being recovered out of the hands of the Moors to this conjunction with the kingdom of Oviedo and Leon.

^b Mariana *Historia General de Hispania*, lib. viii. Ferreras *Hist. de Hispania*, par. iv. Mayerne *Turq. Histoire Generale d'Espagne*, lib. vii.

ⁱ Rod. Toletan. *Hist. Arabum*.

S E C T. V.

The History of Castile, from the Time of its being recovered out of the Hands of the Moors, to the Time of its being erected into a Kingdom, in Favour of Don Ferdinand, the Son of Don Sanchez, King of Navarre, and who married Donna Sancha, Sister and Heiress of Don Bermudo, the third king of Leon.

THE history of this country, and those who governed it within this period, is exceedingly embarrassed and perplexed, through the want of authentic records; the liberties that have been taken to supply these by fables and forgeries, and the unwillingness that some great men have shewn to have these coverings, bad as they are, taken away, and the naked and undisguised truth brought to light.

Opinions concerning the origin of the name of this country and people.

To begin with the name of this country and people. Some have asserted, that it is to be referred to a certain old Spanish tribe, or nation, called by the Romans Castellani, who are supposed to have inhabited here as well as in Catalonia; but, perhaps, evidence would not be easily found to establish this point, if it should be controverted. There were, indeed, a people called Callaici in Catalonia; but if the best critics in ancient geography are to be relied upon, the principal, if not the only nation in this part of Spain, were the Vaccæi; and it will surely be no easy matter to derive any thing for our purpose from them. Others imagine that the origin of this name is to be sought no higher than the recovery of this country out of the hands of the Moors; at which time, say they, there was a strong castle built for the defence of the frontier, in which the count, or great officer of the province, resided, from whence it took its name and its arms. There is something plausible at least, if not probable, in this opinion, only the latter part of the argument seemed to be a little defective, if we may rely on the best judges of heraldry as to the antiquity of such kind of bearings. However, as we are not like to meet with a better account than this, we may, perhaps, reconcile nicer critics to this notion, by observing, that if the name of the province was really derived from some such castle, this may well be supposed to have been supported by tradition, as low as the times in which arms were assumed; and then it will very well

well account for the assuming a castle by way of allusion to that ancient fortress ^a.

We come next to describe the province of Old Castile, so called because it was recovered from the Moors long before that which is styled the New. As it stood in the times of which we are writing, it was separated from the kingdom of Leon by the following little rivers, Carrion, Pisuergo, Heva, and Regamon; and, on the other side, it was bounded by the Asturias, Biscay, and the little province of Rioja; towards the south it had for its limits the mountains of Segovia and Avila, lying in the middle between the Christian kingdom of Oviedo and Leon, and the Moorish sovereignty of Cordova ^b. As this country was extremely fertile in corn and wine, abounded with excellent pasture, and was consequently well stocked with cattle, and the best watered of any province in Spain, we need not wonder that both nations were desirous of being its masters. Even while it remained under the dominion of the Moors, there were several great lords who maintained themselves in the possession of certain districts, and who, by degrees increasing in wealth and power, at length shook off the yoke of the infidels, and put themselves under the protection of the kings of Oviedo ^c. If this account be true, we may very well believe, that these lords had each of them a well fortified mansion, or castle; whence, at the emancipation of this province from the yoke of the Moors, it might well receive that name by which it has been ever since known. The same historian tells us, that these lords, supported by their new protector, were not only able to defend their frontier, but to extend their little territories by their excursions against the Moors, as often as any favourable opportunity presented itself; and that from hence they assumed the title of counts; and being regarded as feudatories of the monarchs before mentioned, were summoned in time of war to repair with their vassals to attend the king's standard, and in time of peace were called to the assemblies of the estates ^d.

Don Rodriguez is the first of those counts mentioned by name in the Spanish histories, and he flourished in the reign of Don Alonso el Casto, or the *Chaste*, whom he assisted in his wars against the Infidels. Some ancient writers

Situation of this province.

A. D. 844. Some particulars of the fabulous history of the ancient counts.

^a Guillim's Heraldry, p. 391. ^b Mariana Historia General de Hispana, lib. viii. cap. ii.

^c Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. iv. Mariana Hist. General de Hispana, lib. viii. cap. ii.

^d Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon, Morales, Mariana.

ters say, that he was the father of Don Diego Porcellos, who is thought to be the same that received the king of Oviedo's orders to rebuild and fortify Burgos. There is, indeed, another account of this matter, which is, that one Nugno Belchides, a German lord, making a pilgrimage into Spain to the tomb of St. James, being kindly entertained by this count, resolved to remain with him, and to assist in defending the country against the infidels. Don Diego was so charmed with the generosity of this stranger, that he gave him in marriage his only daughter, Donna Sulla Bella. By his advice, collecting the people together out of the straggling villages, he brought them to live in a town, which he surrounded with walls, and gave it the name of Burgos, from the German word burgh^e. It must be admitted, that this account has so much the air of a fable as not to deserve any credit; but then to infer from hence, that the counts in Castile were not hereditary, seems to be carrying the matter too far; since rejecting the fable, we may retain the history, and allow Don Diego, the son of Don Rodriguez, to have built the city of Burgos, not by the advice of this son-in-law, but by the order of Don Alonso the Great^f (B).

The counts, to whom the grandees have succeeded, were appointed by the king; and, in process of time, such as had the government of certain districts, disposed things in such a manner that their sons succeeded them, yet always with the consent of the crown^g. But with respect to the counts of Castile, we find no traces of their being appointed by the kings of Oviedo or Leon; and if they had, there would, probably, have been but one count; and whenever that dignity became hereditary, it would have

^e Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Mariana.
Hispana, lib. iv.

^f Ferreras Hist. de
^g Morales, Mariana.

(B) The Spanish word Castellania, which is derived from Castilio; or Castile, is, according to the dictionary of the Royal Academy, a separate territory, in the manner of a province, independent of any other; in which its particular laws are observed, and which has a ju-

risdiction over all the places dependent on its capital. As to the city of Burgos, it was raised out of the ruins of the ancient town of Auca, or Occa, from whence the adjacent ridge of mountains is styled Sierras de Occa (1).

(1) Abbé Vayrac Etat present de l'Espagne, liv. i. p. 467.

been in his family ; whereas we have as much certainty as can be had of any thing in those times, that it was not so ; but that, from the time of their becoming a province to the kingdom of Oviedo, there were several great lords, though it is not at all improbable that one of these might have the precedency in virtue of the king's appointment for the better government of the province ; and also, that Don Diego might hold that dignity, when, by the command of Don Alonso, he built and fortified Burgos, which became afterwards the capital of the province, and the place where the king's count or governor resided.

If we consider things in this light, it seems highly probable, that Nugno Fernandez was the principal count and chief governor of Castile, at the time that Don Alonso the Great consented to a match between his eldest son, the prince Don Garcias, and the count's daughter, which, as we have already shewn, was attended with unhappy circumstances, since that prince aspired to the crown in the life-time of his father, by which ambition he drew upon himself the king's displeasure and a long imprisonment. In these family quarrels the count of Castile not only countenanced his son-in-law, but also supported the queen Ximena and the prince Don Ordogno, governor of Galicia, and the younger brother of Don Garcias ; so that at length, by their cabals, the good old king found it requisite to resign his crown to Don Garcias, who behaved more dutifully afterwards than he had done before ; and it seems highly probable, that when, after the death of that prince, Don Ordogno came to be seated on the throne, he disapproved his brother's conduct and his own towards their father ; and, on this account, retained a dislike to Don Nugno Fernandez, to whom he might impute those counsels by which they were misled. However that may be, it is certain that, having summoned that nobleman and the rest of the nobles of Castile to meet him at Burgos, and they disobeying the order, he resolved to chastise them ; but dissembling his intentions, and directing them once more to meet him at a little town called Regular, he caused them all to be arrested, carried prisoners to Leon, and there put to death. This step Don Roderic, bishop of Toledo, represents as an act of tyranny, and a very foul stain on the administration of that king, who was otherwise a prince of great virtues. Don Lucas, bishop of Tuy, barely relates the fact without any censure ; and yet Marina, and most of the modern historians, have followed the archbishop, and treated the king as a tyrant for this very

The king of Leon imprisoned, and puts to death some of these lords as rebels.

A. D. 612.

act; but Sampiro, bishop of Astorga, who had much better opportunities of knowing the truth, is directly on the other side, justifies king Ordogno's severity, and speaks of these nobles as rebels. But how just soever his motives might be, the manner of his getting these great men into his hands can never be defended; and therefore we need not wonder that the people of Castile were generally dissatisfied, or that heats and heart-burnings were hereby kindled between the two nations.

According to the general current of history, the sense which the Castilians had of this act of severity, joined to some new hardships they sustained under the reign of Don Froila, who compelled them to resort to Leon for the decision of all disputes, provoked them to withdraw their allegiance from such tyrannical masters, and to set up a new form of government amongst themselves. This consisted in choosing two persons of quality, who were styled judges, and in whom the supreme power was vested. The two first they say were Don Nugno Rasura and Don Layn Calvo; the former of these was the son of Don Nugno Belchides, a man in years, of great experience, and of a mild and equitable temper; the latter younger, married to Nuna Bella, the daughter of his colleague, very brave and active. Don Nugno, therefore, was the legislator, and Don Layn the general of this new commonwealth^h. They generally administered justice together, seated on the same tribunal; and, as a proof of this fact, they shew the remains of what they call the judgment-seat at the village of Bijudico, two leagues from Medina de Pomar, as a decisive evidence of the matter of fact, asserting, that it was built for their useⁱ. We are also told, that the laws by which their sentences were regulated made the contents of an ancient volume, intitled, *El Fuero de Castilla*, which continued in force to the reign of Don Alphonso the Wise, by whom these laws were abolished, and a new code introduced^k. It is, however, admitted, that nothing farther is known of the transactions of these magistrates; how long they remained so, or who were their immediate successors. The truth seems to be, that the name of the village, and the ruins of something like a tribunal, together with the darkness of these times, inspired some fertile imagination with this history, that the birth of him

^h Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iii.

Antiq.

^k Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Vasæi Hispaniæ Chronicon.

ⁱ Chron. Var.

who was really the founder of an independent sovereignty in Castile, might appear sufficiently noble.

Don Gonçalez Nugno was the son of Don Nugno Ráfura, and some say that he also became one of the judges: but be that as it will, he is reported to have been a person of most extraordinary natural endowments, improved by more learning than in that age laymen usually acquired. He married Donna Ximena, the daughter of the count Nugno Fernandez, who was put to death by Don Ordogno, and who was also a lady of exemplary virtue and a most consummate understanding. These excellent persons, having nothing so much at heart as the good of their country and the glory of the Castilian nation, bred up most of the young nobles of Castile in their own family; by which conduct they acquired, as no doubt they well deserved, the universal esteem and affection of all ranks and degrees of people. This illustrious couple were the parents of that great hero we mentioned, Don Ferdinand Gonçalez, of whom we are now to speak, as of the real and indubitable founder of this principality.

After all, no credit is to be given to this genealogy, but it is infinitely more probable this great man was the son of Don Ferdinand Gonçalez, lord of Lara in Castile, who, from authentic records, appears to have been the founder of the monastery of St. Peter de Alanca¹. His title and estate descended to this son; who, by his excursions against the Moors, by his hospitable and generous way of living, by his courage in war and conduct in peace, raised himself to such an extent of power, and to so high a reputation, that he married the infanta Donna Sancha of Navarre^m, and governed Castile in the same absolute manner, almost as if he had been the legal master of it; but notwithstanding this, he took care to preserve measures with the king of Leon, upon whom he, as well as his predecessors, depended. At the famous battle of Simencas, he was in the army of Don Ramiro, the second king of Leon, and had a large share in obtaining that glorious victory.

In the following year he thought fit to disobey that monarch's orders, with respect to fortifying the frontier; and, as some writers say, entered into a confederacy against him with the Mohammedans, which is not at all probable, since we find that the count Ferdinand Gonçalez and the count Diego Nunez were the next year

A. D. 913.

*Account of
the family
of Don Fer-
dinand
Gonzalez.*

*He disobeys
the king of
Leon's or-
ders.*

¹ Morales, Ferreras.
pan. lib. iv.

^m Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hisp.

reduced and brought to Leon, from whence the king sent them to two separate castles, and kept them some time in captivity; but at length, by the interposition of the nobility, and very probably of the king of Navarre, whose sister Don Ferdinand had married, he was set at liberty, reconciled to the king, and the prince Don Ordogno married to his daughterⁿ. At this time there is nothing clearer, than that Don Ferdinand and Don Diego both were feudatories to the king of Leon; for had it been otherwise, no doubt but the king of Navarre would have sent them assistance, and prevented his brother-in-law's disgrace; but he was too great and too wise a prince to protect him from the just resentment of his sovereign, otherwise than by an interposition of good offices in his favour, which we see had the desired effect, and produced a reconciliation, at least for the present^o.

*Marries his
daughter to
the prince
Don Ordogno.*

But without all question, Don Ferdinand was inclined to render himself independent; and there is nothing more probable, than that the king, by marrying his son to Donna Urraca, the count's daughter, meant to divert him from that design, and to fix his and his successor's fidelity to princes that were of their own blood. Count Ferdinand Gonzalez, however, was too great a politician to be governed by such a consideration; and therefore the king was no sooner dead, than he joined with his brother-in-law of Navarre to prescribe terms to Don Ordogno, who had married his daughter, and this with a view of making his brother Don Sanchez, king of Galicia, by which means, the power of that monarchy being divided, he might with safety have set up for himself^p. Yet when he saw that this scheme, though well contrived, was not easy to be executed, he did not care to run the hazard of a battle, though joined with the forces of Navarre, and this caution produced a coldness between him and Don Sanchez, in whose favour he took, or pretended to take up arms^q. He bore also the insult offered him, in sending back the queen of Leon, with great seeming patience, which was purely the effect of his policy, since it afterwards sufficiently appeared that he was sensible enough of the affront^r. His interest governed him then, and, indeed, upon every other occasion, the great point he had

ⁿ Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Vassæi Chronicon. ^o Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

^p Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

^q Chron. Var. Antiq.

^r Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Vassæi Chronicon.

In view was to render himself independent; and this he pursued indefatigably till at last he attained it, as we shall shew in its proper place. But this character of him, founded in facts, renders some stories of him by Mariana altogether incredible.

He pushed his dissimulation still farther; upon Don Ordogno's making an irruption against the Moors, he likewise took a share in the war, and made a seeming diversion in the king's favour, though at the same time it answered a great purpose of his own; for the infidels had built a strong fort at Corazo, on the frontiers of his country, which was a great thorn in his sides, and which he took this opportunity to remove. Some writers say that he gained at the same time a great victory over the infidels, but that seems not a little doubtful, or rather it is confounded with another victory, of which we shall speak hereafter. It is, however, certain, that he took and demolished the fortress of Corazo; and though by this exploit he so apparently served his own turn, yet when, the year following, Don Ordogno, at the head of his numerous and victorious army, was on the point of entering Castile, he went boldly to that prince, pleaded the service he had done in the preceding campaign, and, by promising a steady adherence to his duty for the future, diverted that storm by which he must have been otherwise overwhelmed^s: when the Moors, in revenge of that action, invaded his territories, he demanded and received such assistance from Don Ordogno, as enabled him to gain such a victory at St. Stephen de Gozmez as entirely broke the force of the infidels, and left him nothing to fear on that side for many years to come^t. The king of Leon dying soon after, he set on foot those intrigues against his brother and successor Don Sanchez, whose ally he had formerly been, as forced him to quit the throne, and retire for shelter into the territories of the king of Navarre^u. He likewise took part with Don Ordogno the Wicked, son to Don Alphonso the Blind, advanced him to the throne of Leon, and thus restored his daughter to the title of queen. In the quarrel of this prince, the worst that ever sat upon the throne, he broke with his brother-in-law Don Garcias, king of Navarre; and being defeated and taken prisoner by him in the battle of Aronia, was carried

Don Ferdinand procures the deposition of Don Sanchez.

A.D. 954.

^s Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. iv.
denfis Chron. Roderic Toletan Histor. Arabum,
Chronicon.

^t Lucæ Tu-
vas.

A. D. 960. by him to Pampeluna, were, it is highly probable, that monarch, in order to engage him to be quiet, prevailed upon his nephew Don Sanchez, king of Leon, to release him from the homage due to him in that quality. Having by these means provided in the best manner possible for the security and good correspondence of all the Christian powers, he, at the request of the countess of Castile, his sister, set the count Don Ferdinand at liberty, and sent him home.

Makes war upon the infidels.

About four years after he involved himself in a new war with the infidels by fortifying Sepulveda. Alhacan, king of Cordova, sent Mohammed, his alhagib, or vizir, who afterwards acquired the surname of Almançor, with a powerful army to demolish those fortifications². The count Don Ferdinand, knowing the extent of the place, suffered them to invest it, by which disposition, their army occupied so great a space of ground, that one part of it was unable to sustain the other: then making a quick march, he fell upon them with such impetuosity, that he forced the posts he attacked, and divided one part of the army from the other, a circumstance which made way for a total defeat, wherein they lost fifteen thousand men and all their baggage³.

Deprives the family of Vela of the county of Alava.

We draw now towards the conclusion of this great man's life, who ought to be regarded as the true author and founder of this principality; and though it cannot be denied, that, as well in point of courage and military conduct as that kind of court-craft and cunning which too often obtains the name of policy, he was one of the most distinguished persons in his time, yet many of his actions were such as nothing but unjust ambition could suggest. At the time he projected the deposition of Don Sanchez, king of Leon, amongst other great lords whom he sought to draw into a confederacy against that unfortunate prince, one was the count de la Vela, who seems to have possessed the little fruitful county of Alava, on the same terms that Don Ferdinand Gonzalez originally held his territories in Castile⁴. The count, however, resisted all his solicitations, and remained firm in the interests of Don Sanchez, even after he was constrained to abandon his kingdom and retire into Navarre⁵. The count Don Ferdi-

² Vaf. Chronicon. Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum. ^a Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii.
^b Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii. Chron. Var. Antiq. ^c Lucæ Tudensis Chron.

nand, provoked at this inflexibility, and at the same time perceiving how commodiously the country of Alava lay, for his occasions, resolved, as soon as Don Ordogno was placed on the throne of Leon, and had married his daughter, to make an expedition with all his forces against that lord, and oblige him to pay for his loyalty no less a price than his whole dominions; in which design, not without a great struggle, he prevailed, but could not get the person of the count into his power; who, with all his family, and the best part of his dependents, made their escape, and took refuge in the court of Abderhaman, king of Cordova^d. He was there received and entertained in a manner suitable to his quality; and, at his instigation, in succeeding times, most of those dreadful incursions were made that sometimes reduced both Leon and Castile within a hair's breadth of ruin. Notwithstanding the repeated intercessions, as well of the kings of Navarre as of Leon, he never could be prevailed on to do that nobleman justice, but kept the county of Alava till the day of his death, which happened in the month of July, in the year 970^e, when he left his territory free in all respects, very much extended, and the frontier well fortified, and a great body of well disciplined troops, to his son, a prince of great hopes, and highly esteemed.

The name of this young count was Don Garcias Fernandez, who, from the time he became possessed of his father's dominions, turned his thoughts entirely upon the improvement of the country, and to the emolument of its inhabitants; by which means he deservedly raised a very high reputation, and obtained not only the confidence of his own subjects, but of his neighbours. He seems to have passed the first seven years of his government in peace, owing chiefly to the age and infirmities of one king of Cordova, and to the indolent temper of another; but this last having made choice of Mohammed Abenanier for his prime minister, who was a man of great abilities, and of an active and martial disposition, he readily listened to the repeated applications of the count de la Vela, and set on foot a numerous army, commanded by Orduan, one of the most experienced officers in his service, in order to restore him to his dominions, with whom went the count in person and most of his partisans. As soon as count Garcias had intelligence of these formidable preparations, he strenuously solicited the assistance of Don Ramiro III.

Don Garcias Fernandez succeeds his father.

^d Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum.

^e Vaf. Chron.

A.D. 979.

then king of Leon, but without effect; for that prince, being at peace with the Moors, refused to break with them upon his account. But his cousin Don Sanchez Abarca, king of Navarre, declared frankly in his favour, and began to arm immediately with the same zeal as if it had been in his own quarrel. Orduan, general of the Moors, entered Castile on the side of Oñena and St. Stephen de Gormez, wasting the country with fire and sword; but as soon as the troops of Navarre had joined Don Garcias, he attacked them with so much vivacity, that they were quickly routed, and with the loss of a considerable body of men, as well as of their baggage, were constrained to make a precipitate retreat into the territories of Cordova, which gained count Garcia Fernandez great reputation ^f.

*Baffles the
Moors in
several in-
vasions.*

As the infidels were highly provoked by this defeat, they levied the next year an army very far superior to that which had been beaten, and Mohammed Abenamir, surnamed afterwards Almanzor, took the resolution of commanding it in person ^g. The count of Castile solicited as before both kings in his favour, but the one granted him none, and the other very small succours, under pretence that the former campaign had been very expensive ^h. The count Don Garcia, therefore, found himself so much inferior to the enemy that he durst not hazard a battle, yet by marches and counter-marches he harrassed the Moors so much that their general was excessively provoked, and at length contented himself with besieging St. Stephen de

A. D. 980.

Gormez. This place was so well fortified, and defended by so strong a garrison, that his army suffered exceedingly during the siege; a consideration which induced him, when the place was taken, to put the garrison to the sword, the rather because his forces were so much diminished and fatigued, that he found himself in no condition to undertake any thing farther, and was therefore obliged to defer the bloody vengeance he threatened to take till the next year. The next campaign was notwithstanding less favourable to the infidels than the former, though Don Garcia had not a better army in the field; but his fortresses were so well provided, and the Moors had so little stomach to sieges, that, after moving up and down the open country which they ravaged, they found it expedient to

^f Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

Chron. Vassal Chron.

lib. iv.

^g Lucæ Tudenis

^h Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan.

retire; and the succeeding year they did nothing, or employed their arms elsewhere.

About four years after, Almanzor made a new ir-
ruption into Castile, took Sepulveda after a long siege, and several other places; from whence we may conclude, though there is no mention of it in the Spanish histories, that he gained some advantage over the count Don Garcia, who otherwise would not have been a tame spectator of the miseries his people underwent. The resolution

*Carries on
the war
with great
intrepidity.*

A. D. 986.

taken by the Moors next year to act with all their forces against the king of Leon procured the Castilians some success, which the count employed in repairing his fortresses and recruiting his troops. Three years after Almanzor made a new invasion, and brought with him the sons of the count de la Vela. Don Garcia was now assisted by the kings of Leon and Navarre, but not in any proportion to the number of his enemies, who besieged and took Aliencia; which conquest however, put an end to their progress for that yearⁱ. The next was rather more unfortunate, for the count having but a very small army in the field, they ravaged and destroyed the country at their pleasure, but without undertaking any siege. The year following Almanzor invaded Castile again, and, after endeavouring to no purpose to force Don Garcia to a battle, he, in the month of August, besieged and took Osma after a long resistance^k. This war was in a good measure suspended for the three following years; during which, however, the count Don Garcias was exceedingly perplexed with some disputes that arose between him and his cousin Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, which ended not but with the death of the latter.

When the infidels renewed the war, they made a greater impression upon Castile than they had ever done, and not only took but garrisoned Corugna and St. Stephen de Gormez, which they held for several years; and it is highly probable that they might have pushed their conquests much farther, if they had not at this time meditated the destruction of Leon, which they effected soon after. It was the loss and ruin of that important place that saved the Christians in Spain from being undone, by opening their eyes to the necessity of uniting, and produced that league between the kings of Leon and Navarre and the count of Castile. This first gave a check to

Obtains several advantages over the infidels.

ⁱ Roderic Santii, Hist. Hispan. lib. iv.
HER. Arabum.

^k Roderic Toletan.

the arms of the infidels, by the glorious victory¹ obtained over them in the plains of Osma, where all the three princes acted in person; and where, after the Moors were defeated, the pursuit was committed to the count of Castile, who executed it with such vigour, as drew upon him the particular resentment of the infidels. As soon as they were able to assemble another army, they resolved to employ it solely against his dominions; but Don Bermudo, king of Leon, dying in the interim, they altered their intention, and made an irruption into that kingdom, where the Moorish army, under the command of Abdilmelech, was thoroughly and shamefully defeated by the confederates, commanded by Don Garcia, count of Castile. The year following died Don Garcias, king of Navarre, and was succeeded by Don Sanchez, afterwards surnamed the Great; and the same year Don Garcia, count of Castile, consented, that the sons of the count de la Vela should be restored to their patrimony, and that a general pardon should be granted to them and all their adherents.

A.D. 1001.

*His son
raises an
insurrec-
tion against
him.*

The young king of Navarre being arrived at an age in which it was fit for him to marry, cast his eyes upon Dotina Elvira, the daughter of Don Sanchez, and granddaughter of Don Garcia, count of Castile, whom he soon after demanded in marriage by his ambassadors, to whom the young lady being readily delivered, the marriage was soon after solemnized with great splendor at Pampeluna^m. The great joy occasioned by this event, which was indeed very favourable to the Christian cause, was very soon damped by the ill conduct of this young queen's father, who, listening to the advice of count Garcia Gomez, and some other flatterers, began to form cabals against his parent and his prince. The count Don Garcia laboured all that was in his power to convince his son of the folly of his proceeding, but to no purpose, for the prince was as obstinate as he was undutiful; so that at length the count of Castile, who was grown old in fighting against the infidels, was obliged once more to draw his sword in order to chastise his sonⁿ. Don Sanchez pushed things to extremities, and would not suffer their differences to be any other way terminated than by a battle; in which, it is on all hands agreed, he was thoroughly defeated^o; and though Mariana^p and some other historians say, that he kept up

¹ Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Vascon Chron. ^m Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iii. ⁿ Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. ^o Chron. Var. Antiq. ^p Historia General de Hispana, lib. viii.

the contest notwithstanding till his father's death, yet authors, who lived nearer these times, assert, that he was wise enough to submit to ask pardon of Don Garcia, and not only to receive it, but by signal marks of repentance, and a sincere return to his duty, effaced the very memory of his crime, which delivered the Castilians in time from a civil war, that might otherwise have rendered them an easy prey to the infidels, who, as it was very natural, began their preparations to invade Castile on the first news of this dispute.

Abderama succeeded his brother Abdilmelech in the post of general, or commander in chief of the forces of Cordova: being exceedingly desirous to signalize his accession to that great office, by revenging his father's death and his brother's disgrace, he assembled a very numerous army, with which he invaded Castile. As several of the best fortresses had been ruined, and two of them were still in the hands of the Moors, there seemed to be nothing more easy, than with superior forces to ruin and destroy the country, if not to make an absolute conquest. The count Don Garcia, perceiving the enemy's design, and knowing no other way to preserve his country from ruin, assembled as many troops as he could engage, and with them marched to give the enemy battle. The Moors, who looked upon this step as very favourable to their design, did not at all decline an engagement; so that, on the 28th of July, an action ensued between the towns of Alcocer and Berlanga, in which the Castilians had at first the advantage^a; but the count Don Garcia, penetrating at the head of his cavalry too far, was surrounded by the Moors before his infantry could come up, and most of his troops being killed, and himself dangerously wounded, was taken prisoner^r. His army made a precipitate retreat; but by the desperate charge made at the beginning, the infidels found themselves so much weakened, that, except burning some of the places that were nearest them, they did nothing more that campaign. As for the gallant Don Garcia, he died, partly of his wounds and partly of grief, two days after the loss of his liberty and of the battle, that is, on the 30th of July, in the year of our Lord 1005, and when he had governed Castile thirty-five years complete^s. The Moorish general Abderama sent his body in triumph to Cordova, from whence being redeemed

Taken prisoner by the Moors.

^a Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon. par. iii.

^r Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan.

^s Vassæi Chronicon.

ed for a sum of money, it was brought back into his own dominions, and buried in the monastery of St. Peter de Cardagna.

Don Sanchez Garcias succeeds his father.

Don Sanchez Garcias succeeded his father, the ransom of whose body was the first act of his administration; and as soon as he had paid his last devoirs to it, he applied himself with inexpressible diligence to recruit his forces, that he might be in a condition to revenge his death upon the infidels. Several accidents contributed to facilitate his design; his neighbours, the kings of Leon and Navarre, sent him considerable succours; multitudes of his own people being afraid to till their lands, betook themselves to arms, and, before he could take the field, a civil war broke out in Cordova. Don Sanchez finding his army more numerous, and the conjuncture more favourable than he expected, disposed all things very wisely, in order to make the most of his advantage. He blocked up the Moorish garrisons in his own country, that they might give his subjects no disturbance in his absence, then passing the mountains that separate the two Castiles with the rest of his troops, he fell into the open country behind them, and having burnt three or four small places, so terrified the inhabitants of all the great cities and towns, that they immediately sent deputies to his camp, even from places at a great distance, and agreed to deliver him wine, provisions, and money, upon such terms as he thought fit to prescribe. Having thus spread terror throughout all the enemy's dominions, and fully indemnified his subjects for their want of a harvest that year, he repassed the mountains in the middle of autumn with his army, covered with glory and laden with riches^t.

Zuleiman solicits his assistance.

His good fortune did not end here. Those who had revolted at Cordova from Almahadi, who then bore the title of king, could not agree amongst themselves whom they should place upon the throne in his stead; and at length dividing in favour of two persons, they came immediately to an action, in order to decide which of these competitors they should assist to dethrone the reigning prince. The name of him whose adherents were victorious in the action were Zuleiman^u, who becoming master of the person of his rival, kept him closely confined; but this success, which freed him from one opponent, rendered him much less able to contend with the other;

^t Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Vassæ Chronicon.
Sanctii Hist. Hispan. par. iii.

^u Roderic

for, notwithstanding those who revolted at first were strong enough to depose Almahadi, if they could have agreed, yet the remains of both parties found themselves manifestly too weak *. In this situation Zuleiman very wisely drew off his forces from the neighbourhood of the capital, that they might be less liable to be debauched; and having seized upon certain places, where, for the present, they might remain in safety, he sent his ambassadors to count Don Sanchez, to propose a firm and constant alliance between them, promising him great advantages, if, by his assistance, a passage could be opened to the throne of Cordova, and accompanied these offers with presents of great value †.

The count of Castile received these ambassadors kindly. Having maturely weighed what they proposed, he accepted the offers that were made him, and assured Zuleiman, that he would join him with his troops as soon as the season would permit them to take the field. Accordingly, he not only assembled his own forces, but procured auxiliaries from the kings of Leon and Navarre, who saw with pleasure so fair an opportunity offer of employing the Moors in the service of the Christians, and in weakening themselves. He passed the mountains with as good an army as he had led in his last expedition, and, in conjunction with Zuleiman, who received him with great joy, advanced directly towards Cordova ‡. Almahadi, with the assistance of his alhagib Alhamer, had drawn together a very numerous body of troops, with which he proposed to defend the city, which, as it was extremely well fortified, he looked upon as very practicable, even if the enemy was stronger than they were; but, upon the approach of the confederates, Alhamer, who had the confidence of the troops more than his master, formed a resolution of marching out and giving them battle, in which he persisted, notwithstanding all the reasons Almahadi could offer. This design he executed with the same spirit in which it was formed, but had the misfortune to be defeated by the confederates, and constrained to retire into another part of the kingdom, while they continued their march, and invested Cordova, into the suburbs of which the count of Castile entered with his forces, whom he enriched with the plunder §. Almahadi found it impossible

Don Sanchez assists him.

* Lucæ Tudensis Chron.
‡ Chron. Var. Antiq.

† Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum.
§ Vafæi Chronicon.

A.D. 1008. to defend himself, and therefore made his escape ^b, upon which Zuleiman was received without opposition, who, rewarding the count of Castile and his forces even beyond their expectation, sent them home perfectly satisfied, and recommended to them the reduction of Alhamez, who had withdrawn to the frontiers of Castile ^c.

Enters into a new league with Hissém king of Cordova. At the return of the count Don Sanchez, his consort was delivered of a son, who afterwards succeeded his father in his dominions. The next campaign the count made himself master of the fortress of Alienea, which was in the hands of Alhamez. Having dismantled it, he ravaged the rest of that country, and then returned into his own dominions, being perhaps unwilling to march again to the assistance of Zuleiman, because the count of Barcelona, and other Christian lords, had engaged themselves on the part of his competitor, and he was unwilling to see Christians destroy each other in fighting the battles of the Moors. For want of his assistance Zuleiman was dethroned, expelled, and obliged to retire into Africa. This revolution, in process of time, afforded Hissém, the grandson of Abderhaman, who was the lawful monarch of Cordova, and had been long kept in prison by different usurpers, an opportunity to mount the throne. He found, however, very great difficulty to keep possession of it; for Abdalla, the son of Almahadi, who perished in these troubles, had got possession of Toledo, where he assumed the title of king ^d. On the other hand Zuleiman returned from Africa, and bringing with him considerable reinforcements, created new disturbances, and sent a fresh embassy to the crown of Castile to demand his assistance once more. But Don Sanchez, who made no scruple of assisting one tyrant against another, made an objection of arming against Hissém, whom he took to be a lawful prince ^e. He therefore sent an agent to Cordova, to propose to the king, that if he would order the Moorish garrison to evacuate St. Stephen de Gormez, Osma, Corugna, and other places, he would become his firm ally, and assist him with all his troops. Upon mature deliberation Hissém accepted this offer; in consequence of which the count of Castile began to levy troops. Hissém, to shew his confidence in the faith of that prince, honestly per-

^b Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iii.
de Reb Hispan. lib. iv.

^d Chron. Var. Antiq.

^c Roderic Toletan
^e Lucas Tudenſis Chron.

formed his part of the agreement, and, having given up to him all the places that he demanded, summoned the count of Castile to the performance of his promise ^f. A.D. 1013.

Don Sanchez, equally ready to do what he had stipulated, marched, at the request of his ally, to Toledo, where the troops of Hisslem were already arrived; and, as soon as they had notice of the count's approach, invested the place. Don Sanchez perceiving it to be large and well fortified, and being also informed that it was very populous, advised the Moors to blockade it closely, as not only the surest but the shortest method of becoming masters of it. They took his advice, and had no reason to repent it; for in a few days the inhabitants, finding themselves oppressed by famine, seized upon the person of him whom they had styled their prince, and surrendered the place ^g. The count of Castile having fully made good what he promised, returned again into his own dominions. The civil war still continued between Hisslem and Zuleiman, but it does not appear that the count of Castile took any farther share therein on either side, but remained quiet in his own territories, where he governed his subjects with great equity and justice. Yet a body of Moors, supposed to belong to the garrison of Saragossa, made an irruption into his country, reduced Cordagna, and put the inhabitants there to the sword; upon which Don Sanchez put himself in arms, but found they had quitted his dominions, and retired to a place of safety, whither he held it improper to follow them ^h.

About this time Don Sanchez found himself under an absolute necessity of doing what he took to be an act of justice. The three sons of the count De Vela had, from the time of their return, been treated with great kindness and respect, and the count of Castile had made choice of the eldest, whose name was Don Roderic de Vela, to be the godfather of his son and heir apparent ⁱ. But whether these lords still retained their old resentment, or whether it proceeded from the natural fierceness of their disposition, so it was, that they behaved in such a manner to the Castilians, that the count received perpetual complaints of their excesses, which, in the end, provoked him to such a degree, that, forgetting how fatal their former exile had been to all the Christians in Spain, he drove them a

*Assists him
in besieging
Toledo.*

*Sends the
family of
Vela a se-
cond time
into ban-
ishment.*

^f Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^g Lucæ Tudensis Chron.

Vasæi Chron.

^h Roderic Tolet, Hist. Arabum.

ⁱ Roderic

Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iii.

second time out of his dominions^k. Don Alonso the Fifth, then king of Leon, apprehensive of the ill consequences that might ensue if they should again take shelter among the infidels, offered them a retreat in his dominions, and actually gave them lands sufficient for their subsistence at the foot of the mountains, with which, for the present, they seemed to be well contented^l; but, as the reader hath seen in another place, these were very far from being their real sentiments, as clearly appeared after the death of the count Don Sanchez, when an opportunity offered of glutting their resentment by the murder of his son, and by the extinction of the male heirs of the counts of Castile. But at present our business is to continue the thread of our history, by relating the remaining achievements of the count Don Sanchez.

The count Don Sanchez having now an interval of peace, took great pains in correcting whatever errors had crept into his government during those times of commotion. He repaired those fortresses that were proper to make a part of his frontier, and demolished others, that, either through an irruption of the Moors, or insurrections at home, might have proved nuisances to his dominions. He took this opportunity also to regulate with the king of Navarre the boundaries of their respective territories, to prevent any disputes in succeeding times between their descendents. He likewise facilitated the endeavours of Don Alonso, king of Leon, in repairing the places ruined by the Moors, and more especially in restoring such churches and convents as they had demolished: actions that shew him to have been a wise, active, and magnanimous prince, and therefore not likely to have proceeded with so much rigour, as is reported, against his mother. However, as the fact is related by more than one historian, and is represented as having given rise to more than one custom that still remains in general use in this country, it is not fit to hide it from the reader's knowledge, however improbable it may appear, as indeed there is hardly any thing that can wear an aspect more fabulous or more incredible.

The countess-dowager of Castile, it is said, forgetting her birth, her honour, and her religion, cast her eyes upon a Moorish lord, with an inclination to have married

^k Chron. Var. Antiq.
Chron.

^l Lucæ Tudenfis Chron. Vasæi

him; but being apprehensive that this step would have been displeasing to her son, who might have considered such a marriage as deriving discredit on himself, she resolved to remove that obstacle to the gratification of her passion by depriving him of life. With this view she prepared a violent poison, which she put into his drink, and which she afterwards offered him with her own hands; but the count having received information of this black design, first desired, and then obliged her to drink it herself, and thereby turned the effects of this cruel project upon its author. Some authors assert, that from hence arose the practice in Spain of the ladies drinking first. It is also alleged that the count himself, regretting the severity, built the noble monastery of Ona as an expiation of his crime: but, with much greater probability, others assert, that it was erected to gratify the desire of one of his daughters, who was inclined to quit the world, and became the abbess of this new foundation^m.

As the civil wars amongst the infidels still continued, A.D. 1019. when the count had adjusted all his domestic concerns, he was willing not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of extending his dominions, and therefore taking the field with a complete corps of well disciplined troops, he presented himself before Penafiel, which, after a short siege, he reduced. After taking Maderuelo and Montijo, he at length invested Sepulveda, a place strong by nature, with a good garrison, which enabled it to make a great resistance; however, being a place of consequence, a mark of triumph in the infidels, and a thorn in the side of his subjects, he pushed it so vigorously, that at length it fell into his handsⁿ. This conquest enabled him to clear all that neighbourhood of the Moors, and to take such precautions as might, for the future, put it out of their power to harass his subjects as in times past. He seems to have been thus employed when he was seized with that distemper which brought him to the grave, to the great regret of his subjects, who loved him as he deserved, since few princes have been either more fortunate or more indulgent. He deceased^o February the 5th, in the year of our Lord 1022. Mariana^p, and indeed some other writers, place his death six years lower, but without any great appearance of reason, because it is not reconcileable to the current even of

*Expedition
against the
Moors, and
death.*

^m Lucæ Tudenſis Chronicon, Vafæi Hiſpan. Chronicon. ⁿ Roderic Toletan Hiſt. Arabum. ^o Roderic Santii Hiſt. Hiſpan. par iii. ^p Hiſtoria General de Hiſpana, lib. viii.

their own narrations. His body was interred in the monastery of Ona, which he founded. He left behind him four children, Don Garcias Sanchez his successor, and three daughters, Donna Nugna Elvira, who married Don Sanchez king of Navarre, Donna Urraca Theresa, who became afterwards the consort of the king of Leon, and Donna Frigida, who was abbess of the monastery before mentioned ⁹.

Don Garcias Sanchez succeeds his father.

Don Garcias Sanchez ^r succeeded his father, under the tuition of Donna Elvira his mother, and the protection of Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, his uncle. There is a general concurrence of the Spanish writers to raise this young prince into a kind of miracle, with respect both to his person and his parts, but at the same time they are very much divided about his years, since most make them but nine, whereas we, following the other computation, esteem him then to have been about fourteen; the rather, because we find, that, on the 25th of May, 1025, his mother died, and recommended him to the care of Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, who very soon after thought of marrying him. Besides, the person and the parts of a child of nine years old, though they may raise hopes, hardly excite admiration; whereas at fourteen, if he was really of such a superior genius, there is nothing absurd in supposing, that it might be discerned and distinguished even by foreigners as well as his own subjects; and as this was actually the case, it serves greatly to fortify that notion. However, notwithstanding the pregnancy of his parts, and the respect due to his father's memory, there wanted not some among his subjects, who were willing to take the advantage of his youth, and to disturb the peace of his dominions. The chief of these was Don Ferdinand Gutierrez, who made himself master of the castle of Moncon, and is reported to have had some connection with the infidels.

Is assassinated.

But Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, under colour of providing a proper match for his nephew, made a tour into Castile, and brought with him, by way of escorte, a considerable number of troops, with which, and the forces about the person of Don Garcias, he quickly reduced Don Ferdinand, and some other great men, to reason ^s. This,

⁹ Lucæ Tudenſis Chronicon. Vafæi Chronicon. ^r Mariana Historia General de Eſpana, lib. viii. Ferreras Historia de Eſpana, par. iv. Mayerne Turquet Histoire General d'Eſpagne, liv. vii.
^s Lucæ Tudenſis Chronicon. Vafæi Hiſpan. Chronicon.

and some other affairs, requiring his presence, Don Garcias, who was inclined to shew his passion for the princess Donna Sancha, proceeded, with a few Castilian noblemen that were about him to Leon. Upon his entrance into the kingdom of Leon, the three counts of the family of Vela made great demonstrations of joy; which had nothing in it strange, if we consider, that the eldest of them was his godfather, and might very well pretend an inclination to be reconciled and to make his peace with a prince, whose father he had acknowledged for his sovereign^t. This will still be the more probable, if what some historians say be true, that he gained the opportunity of stabbing him, by pretending to kneel to kiss his hand^u. The circumstances of the murder we have given before, on account of its being committed at Leon; but we are constrained to mention it here again, as this unfortunate prince was the last count of Castile of his race. His corpse was first interred in the church of St. John at Leon, where a tomb was erected to his memory, but it was afterwards removed to the monastery of Ona, where there is both a tomb and an inscription to his honour^v.

Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, who had married his elder sister, took possession of Castile in her right. The reader will perceive, from what has been related, the reason why the assassins of Don Garcias made choice of the castle of Moncon for their retreat, because it belonged of right to Don Ferdinand Guittierez, who might be inclined, upon the death of the count, to excite new troubles; and its lying near the territories of the Moors, might afford them an opportunity of contributing by their assistance to raise new troubles^x. In all probability, this scheme would have succeeded, if Don Sanchez had been in his own kingdom, and the malcontents in Castile more at liberty; but, as it was, the king presently invested the castle, and took it, before either the discontented Castilians or the Moors had any time to discover their inclinations. However, his vigour in pursuing, and his severity in punishing, the counts of la Vela and their adherents, of whom not one escaped, could not but be pleasing to the bulk of the Castilians, who retained a just respect for the memory of their young prince and his father, and might, very probably, contribute to that facility with which he

Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, inherits Castile.

^t Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. iv. Antiq.

^u Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. liii. Toletan Hist. Arabum.

^v Chron. Var.

^x Roderic

was admitted to the possession of that noble country, in which it does not appear that he met with the least opposition.

Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, and count of Castile in his wife's right, was very justly furnamed the Great, since his prudence was at all times, and in all respects, equal to his fortune. He was advanced in years when he made this great acquisition. That he might govern both countries with equal convenience, he fixed on the pleasant town of Najara in Old Castile, but near the frontiers of Navarre, for the place of his residence, and applied himself with diligence to conciliate the love and esteem of his new subjects; though Mariana alleges, that his heart was entirely taken up with his ambition, and that, from the moment he had joined Castile to Navarre, he had in his intention the annexing Leon, Galicia, and Asturias likewise; and to this design alone he attributes the war between him and Don Bermudo III. whereas Ferreras and other writers seem to lay the blame of that affair upon the young king of Leon. In all probability, the want of proper lights on both sides has occasioned this difference; though, to say the truth, probability seems rather to be on the side of Mariana. The source of that war was the king of Navarre's ordering the city of Valentia to be rebuilt, on account of a miracle which happened to him near that place; for as he was hunting the wild boar, the beast ran suddenly into the wood, and took shelter in a subterraneous place, to which the king immediately followed; but, as he lifted his arm to strike the boar, he found it without motion, and soon after perceived an altar and the statue of St. Anthony; upon which he made a vow, that if, through the intercession of that saint, the use of his arm was restored, he would build a church upon that spot in honour of that saint; and being afterwards informed, that this subterraneous place was part of the ruins of the ancient Palentia, it made him so much the more eager to perform his vow: but it seems Don Bermudo either did not credit the miracle, or did not apprehend the piety of incroaching upon other people's rights, in order to perform a vow; for Palentia now is, and it may be presumed was then, esteemed to lie within the dominions of Leon. Mariana^y, without taking any notice of Don Bermudo's repentment, ascribes the war to the king of Navarre's invading Leon with a formidable army, and making the conquest of a con-

considerable tract of country, before Don Bermudo, who had no suspicion of his design; was in any condition to oppose him: be that as it may, it seems that the king of Navarre had a better interest in the clergy than his antagonist; for it was clearly by their influence over the people's minds, that Don Bermudo was forced to make a peace, and to yield a considerable district, by way of dowry, to his sister^z, who married Don Ferdinand, the second son of Don Sanchez. This prince, with the consent of both monarchs, took the title of king^a, instead of count of Castile; and the cession made to him of this country by his father seems to be the only point of the treaty that was in reality acceptable to Don Bermudo, as it freed him in some measure from the apprehensions he was under in having a monarch of Navarre for his neighbour.

We may collect, from what has been related, so just an idea of the motives which engaged the king of Navarre to bestow Castile upon Don Ferdinand, his second son, that there can be no reason for having recourse to that very strange and incredible story, which, moved by the credit of Don Roderic, archbishop of Toledo, most of the Spanish writers have inserted as truth. The substance of this story is, that while this great monarch was engaged in the war against the Moors, his eldest son, Don Garcias, piqued at his mother's refusing him a horse, upon Don Pedro Sessa's representing to her, that the king would be displeased with it, gave the king an account, that his mother and Don Pedro lived together in adultery; upon this Don Sanchez returned from his expedition, and caused the matter to be examined by the states; who, upon the testimony of Don Garcias, condemned the queen to be burned alive. Don Ferdinand, it seems, was passive in this business; but Don Ramiro, who was the king's natural son by Donna Caya, a lady of the court, undertook the queen's defence; and offered to fight with her son in support of her innocence: but, before the day of trial could be fixed, a certain hermit prevailed upon Don Garcias to own the accusation false, and to declare the true grounds of it. The queen, being upon this confession set at liberty, desired that Castile, which was her patrimony, might not be given to Don Garcias, but to her second son Ferdinand; and that Ramiro, who had so generously staked his life in her quarrel, might be rewarded with the kingdom of Ar-

Don Ferdinand declared king of Castile.

^z Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii.
Reb. Hispan. lib. iv,

^a Roderic Tolet. de

ragon; which requests, say they, were complied with; and Don Garcias also made a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to obtain absolution from the holy father for becoming the false accuser of his mother. The whole has been so clearly refuted by a great writer^b, that we should not have mentioned it, but for the sake of giving the reader a hint whence many of these ridiculous fictions arose.

The truth is, that, after bestowing on his son Don Ferdinand the country of Castile, the good old king took care to make many regulations that were equally wise and popular, with a view of gaining to his sons the affections of his new subjects; such as directing, that a new road should be made through Navarre and Castile, for the conveniency of such pilgrims as went to St. James at Compostella, repairing the principal places on the frontiers, that the Moors might not be able to enter, as formerly they had done with impunity, and contriving to bring inhabitants into the places that he had either founded or rebuilt^c; which accounts so well for the time he lived after this transaction, that we have no need of supposing a war with the infidels, of which there is nothing said in the best authors, purely to fill it up. Authors are very far from being agreed, either as to the time or manner of his death. Ferreras seems to be in the right as to the former, and therefore we have followed him; but, with regard to the latter, he is silent; however, some writers affirm, that, going in pilgrimage to Oviedo with a small retinue, he fell into an ambuscade that was laid for him on the road; and, after so long and glorious a reign, was basely and barbarously murdered; which catastrophe induced a suspicion, that some of the neighbouring princes, who were afraid of his power, were concerned in this treacherous act.

Don Ferdinand obtains the crowns of Leon and Castile.

If we consider how soon after the death of this monarch, Don Bermudo, the third king of Leon, entered the country of Castile with an army so much superior to that of the king Don Ferdinand, that, though he was a prince of great courage and spirit, he judged it not at all for his interest to hazard the whole of his dominions by a battle in the first campaign, we may see some reason to suspect, that he was not ignorant of that detestable design, or at least that he drew the same advantages from it as if he had been in the secret; but if he was, he quickly received the

^b P. Moret *Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Rey de Navarra.*

^c Roderic Santii *Hist. Hispan.* p. iii. Lucæ Tudenfis *Chronicon.*

just reward of so black a contrivance, as the reader has seen at the close of the last section; ~~for~~ being, as we have there shewn, killed in battle, Don Ferdinand not only recovered the country that he had taken from him, but succeeded likewise to the kingdom of Leon, in right of his queen Donna Sancha, by which he became the most powerful of all the Christian princes in Spain^d. It is true that the Galicans gave him some trouble when he first entered into the possession of that kingdom; but this was quickly over; and these people, as well as the inhabitants of Leon and Asturias, very soon saw that it was their interest to submit to a monarch by whom Castile was again united to their crown; and consequently their security, as well as their grandeur, visibly increased^e. On the other hand, if they had proceeded to a new election, this must have produced a war, the event of which was uncertain; and a civil war too, of which this country must have been the seat; besides, they could find none more fit to wear the crown of Leon than the husband of Donna Sancha, the sole heiress of that glorious race of kings, who, by their valour and virtue, had preserved the Goths from being extirpated, and were, at least, the principal authors of the progress which the Christians had already made towards the recovery of all Spain. We need not wonder, therefore, that Don Ferdinand met with so little resistance, or that those, who were inclined to oppose him, were so slenderly supported.

The civil dissensions, the violent commotions, and frequent revolutions, in the kingdom of Cordova, having shaken that which was by far the most considerable monarchy of the Moors to such a degree, that, except an empty title of pre-eminence, it scarce preserved any thing more than the rest; there arose almost as many sovereignties as there remained cities in their dominions; so that, notwithstanding such as held them assumed the title of kings, yet we cannot, with any degree of justice, allow every little district they possessed the name of a kingdom. Amongst those of which we shall have occasion hereafter to speak, the most considerable was the king of Seville; next to him, the king of Toledo; and, in the third rank, we may reckon the king of Huesca, though, perhaps, the king of Saragossa might be thought to deserve it as well.

^d Roderic Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. iv. Mariana Historia General de Hispan. lib. viii. Ferreras, Mayerne, Turq. ^e Chron. Var. Antiq. Mariana, Ferreras, &c.

As for the rest, it will be time enough to mention them as occasion requires.

*A prospect
of the state
of Spain at
the begin-
ning of the
eleventh
century.*

At this juncture, the opening of the eleventh century, we may conceive the spacious, rich, and beautiful continent of Spain, as divided into two unequal parts, by a strait line drawn from east to west, from the coasts of Valentia to a little below the mouth of the river Duero; the country north of this line belonging to the Christians, who had the smallest and least valuable share; and all to the south in the possession of the Moors. Both parties were happy in having allies of their own religion and tempers at their back; but in this particular the Christians seemed to be more fortunate, as they had no sea between them, but might at any time receive whatever supplies were sent, or whatever auxiliaries were hired within the bounds of France; whereas the Moors had the Mediterranean between them and their countrymen in Africa. The dependance of both upon these foreign succours was alike precarious; as they were equally unwilling to invite, and equally inclined to grow jealous of such auxiliaries. In point of wealth, and real power by land and sea, the Moors were much superior; but this advantage was more than balanced by the firm connexion subsisting among the Christians. The kings of Leon, Navarre, Sobrawa, and Arragon, were all brothers, and the count of Barcelona nearly allied to them; which ties, though they did not restrain them from quarrels, or even from wars, yet hindered them from being pursued with rancour, or for any length of time. We may add another great advantage, which was the rough mountainous countries in their possession; such as Asturias, Biscay, Navarre, Guipuscoa, and even part of Old Castile; where a sharp clear air, a soil not over fertile, and the continual labour necessary to their subsistence, furnished them with constant supplies of men naturally hardy and robust, and consequently very capable of undergoing the fatigues of war. Whereas the Moors, though naturally more industrious, enjoying a warmer climate, provinces abundantly more fertile, and having likewise the benefit of foreign trade, were, generally speaking, rich, luxurious, and vehemently addicted to sensual pleasures; circumstances that gradually made way for their destruction, and had already brought most of their principalities to decline.

S E C T. VI.

The History of the Kingdoms of Leon and Castile, from their first Conjunction in the Person of Ferdinand I. to their perpetual Union in that of Ferdinand II.

ALL the authors of Spanish history, ancient and modern, agree, that few princes have been blessed with greater talents, or the value of these less abated by vices, than he of whom we are going to speak, Don Ferdinand the First of Leon, and the Second of Castile. It may, perhaps, pass for a proof of this character, that, for almost seven years after he came to the possession of Leon, we find little or nothing undertaken by him, that could be properly the subject of history. He very well knew, that the acquisition of a kingdom was sometimes less difficult than the keeping of it. He perceived, that the bulk of his subjects were dissatisfied with the change of masters; and that though he had been very sparing of blood in the reduction of Galicia, yet he held that province rather by conquest than any other title, a circumstance than which nothing could be more disagreeable to a prince of his disposition. He found it requisite, therefore, to spend a great deal of time in correcting gradually these mistakes, and recovering his subjects from all their prejudices and prepossessions. He spoke always with great clearness of the rights of the queen, and never permitted any claim to be mentioned but that of her descent. He visited all the provinces, and, indeed, almost every great town, caressed the nobility exceedingly, paid a profound respect to the clergy, but made it a part of that respect to see that such were severely punished as were a disgrace to their order. He prosecuted his predecessor's plan of redressing grievances with indefatigable diligence; and, by enlarging the privileges of the people of Galicia, he in a great measure acquired their affection, and lessened the power of their nobility by increasing their number. He took less care of the frontiers of his hereditary crown of Castile than his predecessors had done; but he kept up greater garrisons, thus covering his territories in a great measure, yet not so thoroughly, but that the Moors had sometimes opportunities of making incursions.

When he saw the interior part of his dominions in perfect order, his subjects well united, and unanimously well af-

A.D. 1037.

The character of Don Ferdinand I.

A.D. 1047. fected to his person and government, he began to applaud the conduct of his father-in-law Don Alphonso V. who had rightly distinguished between the having no frontier, and the being obliged to defend one of a large extent ; to avoid both which inconveniences, the only method was to follow his plan, and, by recovering the best part of that country now called Portugal, to arrive at natural boundaries of mountains and rivers, with plains of small extent between them, where the building two or three great towns, and fortifying them, would cover at once both his old dominions and his new conquests. The resolution of making war being once taken, was immediately carried into execution, and he marched with a very numerous army directly towards Zamora. The fortress of Xena was the first place of strength that lay in his way. This he carried by assault, in which the greatest part of the garrison were put to the sword, and the rest made slaves. All the little places in the neighbourhood surrendered on the first summons ; so that he met with no farther opposition till he came to Viseo, which was naturally strong, had been fortified with great care, was defended by a numerous garrison, and had in it, besides, almost all the rich people of the adjacent provinces, who had fled thither with their best effects. Don Ferdinand acted with caution ; he battered the place with his engines, that threw stones of a vast weight, for three weeks, and then caused a general assault to be given, by which he carried the town, notwithstanding an obstinate defence. Here, amongst other prisoners, a cross-bow man was taken, who discharged the arrow by which Don Alphonso V. was killed. Don Ferdinand ordered his hands to be struck off, and some say his feet also^e. He pushed his conquest this campaign as far as the river Malna ; and, having put good garrisons into the best places, returned to Leon, where he was received with loud acclamations, after such a series of conquests in so small a space^f.

A.D. 1045.

Besieges the city of Coimbra.

The very next year the king was in the field again : he had cast his eyes upon Coimbra, or Conimbra, and considered it as a place of great consequence to his design of forming a strong barrier ; for which reason he resolved to reduce it with as little prejudice to the place as possible. Instead, therefore, of investing the city with his army, he contented himself with posting his troops in such a

^e Chron. Var. Antiq.
Lucas Tudenſis Chronicon.

^f Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

manner as hindered the inhabitants from receiving provisions; and, after some months, drew nearer, and threw up lines round the place. The besieged acted with great courage and constancy, and at length tired the king so much, that he had thoughts of raising the siege; but the monks, in a Christian convent at no great distance, prevailed upon him to proceed in his design, furnished him with provisions, and acquainted him with the enemy's distress, by which, at last, the Moors were brought to capitulate, and were allowed to quit the place. All the Spanish writers, however, ancient and modern, take the honour of so important a conquest, both from the king and from the monks, to bestow it upon St. James. It seems that count Sisenand had quitted the party of the Moors, before the war began, and reconciled himself to the king; who, in reward of his services, and as a mark of his favour, made him governor of this city; in which office he acquitted himself with great reputation. The following year he swept the frontiers of his hereditary kingdom of Castile, demolished all the little fortresses the Moors had erected, drove them beyond the mountains, and established strong garrisons to cover each of the passes; but adhered to the old policy of Don Playo, erecting no fortresses on this side, that the martial disposition of the Castilians might not be abated.

A.D. 1045.

In his fourth campaign he ravaged all the country about Medina Cœli, visited all his conquests, and, having enriched his army with plunder and slaves, returned in triumph to the city of Leon. Next spring, when he came to assemble his troops, he found them more numerous than they had been in any of his former expeditions, a circumstance which induced him to invade the dominions of the king of Toledo, at this time one of the most powerful of the Moorish princes. After he had harassed and destroyed the open country, he at length besieged Alcala; which, though a place of great strength, was at length reduced to such straits, that they sent to Almanon, then king of Toledo, to inform him, that, if they were not speedily relieved, they must be obliged to surrender: that monarch, finding himself in no condition to oppose Don Ferdinand by force of arms, took the best part of the riches that were in his treasury, and, attended by a small guard, went directly to the Christian camp: there presenting himself before the king, he intreated him to desist

from hostilities against his subjects, offered to become his vassal, and pay him annual tribute, and at the same time threw himself and the treasures he had brought at his feet. Don Ferdinand was so touched with that prince's distress, that he granted him all he desired, and retired with his troops into his own dominions^b. He proposed the next year to have carried the war into the territories of the Moorish king of Saragossa, of which the latter no sooner received intelligence, than he sent ambassadors to offer the like submission that had been accepted from the king of Toledo, and thereby diverted the intended expeditionⁱ. And of this vassalage he afterwards availed himself against another Christian potentate.

A.D. 1050.

*Sickness of
the king of
Navarre,
and deaths
of queen El-
vira and
king Ali
Maymon.*

As the kingdoms of Castile and Leon enjoyed at this time a profound peace, the king thought no time so proper for holding a general council, which he summoned at Cayanca, in which there was no legate from the pope present; and in which thirteen canons were made, most with respect to ecclesiastical, but some of them likewise respecting civil affairs^k. The year following, his brother Don Garcia, king of Navarre, fell dangerously ill, at Najara, on the frontiers of Castile; of which illness Don Ferdinand was no sooner informed than he resolved to pay him a visit. He went thither accordingly, and was received with all possible demonstrations of affection and respect. It seems, however, that two kings can never be long safe together in the same place; for, in a short space, he was informed, whether truly or not is a point historians have disputed, that his brother intended to secure his person; upon which, taking a hasty, but civil leave, he retired into his own dominions, extremely nettled at this real or supposed injury^l.

In the course of the following year, the old king of Toledo died, and was succeeded by Ali Maymon, who seems to have remained tributary to Don Ferdinand, as his power was not in the least diminished, and as the Mohammedan princes were as far as ever from living upon good terms among themselves. These short scenes of mourning seemed to be the preludes of more afflicting calamities which quickly ensued, and which proved extremely fatal to the

^b Chron. Var. Antiq.

ⁱ Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^k Card. d'Aguirre Conc. Hispan. tom. iii. p. 212.

^l P. Moret Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra, Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Lucæ Tindensis Chronicon.

Christians in Spain, who were generally the authors of their own misfortunes.

Don Ferdinand falling dangerously ill in the succeeding spring, his brother Don Garcias, to manifest an equal affection, came to see him; but the king, who could not forget the informations, true or false, that had been given him at Najara, though he received him at first with all the marks of joy and fraternal kindness, yet caused him to be soon after arrested, and sent prisoner to the castle of Cea, at that time the strongest place in his dominions: but, notwithstanding the strictest injunctions possible were given for preventing either his escape, or his giving or receiving any intelligence, so it was, that he found the means of conveying an account of the usage he had met with to some persons whom he could trust in his own dominions, and whom he directed to be at a place appointed at a certain time. They came accordingly, and brought some of the fleetest horses in Navarre for the king's use; and he, by what contrivance is unknown, was equally punctual, having found his way out of the castle in spite of all the care that could be taken. His flight was so sudden and unexpected, that he was safe in his own dominions by that time the news of it reached the ears of Don Ferdinand at Leon. The king foresaw the mischiefs that would attend this accident, and it may be, in his own mind, disapproved the conduct he had pursued. However, when he heard that Don Garcias, with a great army, was on the point of invading Castile, he went thither in person, and assembled another, superior in discipline as well as in number: he was, notwithstanding, very desirous, if possible, to avoid the effusion of blood; and, with this salutary view, sent some of the clergy, who were about him, to propose terms of accommodation to Don Garcias, offering at the same time whatever satisfaction he could desire, explaining the motives upon which he acted, and offering to bury in silence all memory of either event. The chief of the nobility about Don Garcias, and such ecclesiastics as were most in his esteem, concurred with the ambassadors of Castile, and laboured to reconcile him to his brother. All persuasions were vain; Don Garcia's breast was wholly occupied by his resentment; he would hear no proposals, but obstinately persisted, that all disputes between them should be decided by a battle. Don Ferdinand did all he could to decline it, acted wholly on the defensive, and resolved not to fight, unless his brother was the aggressor.

*The king of
Navarre
imprisoned.*

Don

Don Garcias being informed of this resolution, entered the kingdom of Castile, and advanced directly towards Burgos; and notwithstanding Don Fortunio Sanchez, an ancient nobleman, who had been his governor, laboured all he could to divert him, he fixed the 1st of September, 1054, for the day of battle, when the two armies appeared in sight of each other, between Atuperta and Ages, about nine miles from Burgos. Don Ferdinand, who was much the better officer, ordered a corps of Castilian cavalry to charge the army of Navarre in flank, which service they performed with such success, that they penetrated to the post where Don Garcias commanded in person; and one Sanchez, a trooper, or, as ancient history reports, an officer, to whom that monarch had formerly offered some insult, plunged his spear into his breast. The nobility about his person prevented his being taken, or wounded a second time; but that was of little consequence, since the stroke he had received was mortal. Inigo, abbot of Ona, caught him in his arms, assisted him with his prayers in his last moments, and supported him till he expired. A column was afterwards erected on the place where he fell. As this misfortune could not be concealed from the army, and as it affected the minds of the soldiers to such a degree that they lost all courage, the dispute was soon at an end, and the flight became general. Don Ferdinand would not suffer his troops to pursue; but, perceiving a large body of Mohammedan auxiliaries, he caused them to be surrounded and cut to pieces, only their generals, being excellently well mounted, made their escape. The king made no use of a victory that he regretted; on the contrary, he suffered his brother's body to be interred in the monastery of St. Mary, at Najara, which he had founded, with royal honours, and returned himself to Leon, not in triumph, but with all apparent marks of the most sincere grief^m.

A general council held in the apostolic church of St. James, at Compostella.

We find in some historians, that this war was continued, and that the king, Don Ferdinand, availed himself of his superior army, to the prejudice of his nephew, the king of Navarre; but this assertion is not supported by any of the ancient authors. Indeed, the king of Leon and Castile seems to have been a monarch of great mildness and moderation, who made no other use of his superior power than for the benefit and protection of his subjects, by preserving peace on every side; and, while that subsisted, let-

ting slip no opportunities of improving the great cities, and encouraging his people to cultivate to the best advantage their respective properties in all parts of his dominions. He removed the body of his father, Don Sanchez, from the monastery of Ona to the city of Leon^a; A.D. 1055. where, having made choice of the church of St. John Baptist, in complaisance to his queen Donna Sancha, by whose father, Don Alonso V. it was built for the place of his own sepulchre, he caused the old brick building to be pulled down, in order to rebuild it with stone, and with a degree of magnificence suitable to the power, and expressive of the piety of its founder. He caused a council to be held the beginning of the year 1056, in the apostolic church of St. James of Compostella, in which some canons were made for the support of the discipline of the church. Notwithstanding this prudent and pacific behaviour, which it might have been presumed would have given all his neighbours the utmost satisfaction, we find that Don Garcias, king of Navarre, and Don Ramiro, king of Arragon, had an interview at the monastery of Leyra, under pretence of the dedication of the church, where they made a defensive league for the reciprocal protection of their territories, in case that either should be attacked by Don Ferdinand; who, it does not at all appear, meant them any disturbance, or took any umbrage at this precaution.

On the death of pope Nicholas II. there happened a schism; and one of the competitors, who took the title of Alexander II. sent a legate into Spain, in order to derive all the help he could from that quarter. This may seem an immaterial point, but it is really a thing of great consequence; for this ecclesiastic was extremely offended with the old Gothic liturgy, and was for obtruding upon the Spaniards the Roman offices at once; with which, in their turn, they were equally displeased. At this juncture, indeed, there was nothing done in that matter, but it was this legate who laid the foundation of all that has been done since; for, upon his return to Rome, he reported, that the Spaniards could never be made good subjects to that see till the Gothic liturgy and their ancient usages were removed out of the way: this truth being thoroughly comprehended, the indefatigable spirit of the church of Rome never suffered the government of Leon and Castile to be at peace, till they had got the better in

^a Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, P. d'Orleans.

this respect ; which was not, however, till some years after, as will be shewn in its proper place ; and then it was in consequence of their having prevailed in other Spanish principalities before. Let us now return from ecclesiastical to civil history, and observe what the strange consequences were of this legate's doctrine at the court of Leon, and how far, even under a wise and good prince, religious caprices operated upon the most important affairs of state.

*Translation
of the body
of St. Isidore, bishop
of Seville,
to the city
of Leon.*

The church of St. John the Baptist being finished, the queen Donna Sancha was desirous of enriching it, according to the superstitious humour of those times, with holy relics ; and upon this occasion there came into her head two virgins, St. Justa and St. Rufina, who were martyred, and whose bodies were interred at Seville. It was suggested, that the surest way of obtaining them was by force of arms. Don Ferdinand made an irruption into the territories of Mohammed Aben Habet, king of Seville, without provocation, and without any intimation of offence, murdered multitudes of Moors, drove vast numbers into slavery, and gave up the whole country to pillage, calamities which brought the poor Mohammedan prince upon his knees to Ferdinand, offering him all his treasures to ransom the bodies of his unhappy subjects, whom he wanted force to defend. The king of Leon and Castile insisted upon having the body of St. Justa taken up and sent to Leon, and that the Moorish monarch should do him homage, and become his vassal. Mohammed submitted to these conditions very willingly and chearfully : but when, some time after, three bishops and three counts came to Seville to demand the body of the saint, the poor king found himself greatly distressed, as not having the least knowlege where this saint was to be found. The Christian inhabitants professed themselves as ignorant as he°. In the midst of this perplexity, St. Isidore very kindly appeared to Alvitus, bishop of Leon, who was at the head of the embassy, and told him, it was not a proper time to remove the saints Justa and Rufina, but that they should take his body p with them, and pointed with a cross to the place where it lay. This injunction was complied with accordingly ; and Alvitus himself dying in his return, both bodies were brought with great reverence into Leon ; the king, the queen, and a great num-

° Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Lucæ Tudensis Chron.
p Pelag. Ovctens. Liber Chron.

ber of the nobility going out a considerable distance to receive them; and the corpse of St. Isidore being deposited in the new church of St. John the Baptist, has, in some measure, changed its name^q.

While the king Don Ferdinand was employed in the war against Seville, Don Ramiro, king of Arragon, with a formidable army, invaded the dominions of the Moorish prince of Saragossa, who, being tributary to the king of Leon, immediately sent ambassadors to his capital to implore his assistance: they finding him absent, applied themselves to Don Sancho his son, who sent them instantly back to their master, desiring him to assemble all his troops; and assuring him, that he would forthwith march with a strong body of forces to his relief, a promise which he accordingly performed. The infant Don Sancho having for his lieutenant the famous Don Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid, no sooner joined the Moors, than he proposed marching to give the king of Arragon battle, who, on his side, raised the siege of a town before which he lay, and marched to meet them. The dispute was long and bloody; but at length the victory^r declared on the side of the infant, the unfortunate Don Ramiro being killed upon the spot, as most of the Spanish writers agree; though there are some^s who affirm, that he died some time after in his bed; and there are also others who assert, that he was not only killed, but that his body fell into the hands of the infidels, who caused it to be flayed. At present, it is sufficient to observe, that the infant Don Sancho, having relieved his father's vassal, returned with his victorious troops to Leon^t.

Don Ramiro, king of Arragon, defeated and killed before Saragossa.

At the time of the translation of St. Isidore, the king Don Ferdinand held an assembly of the states at Leon; in which he opened to them his design of dividing his dominions amongst his three sons; that is, to give the kingdom of Castile to the eldest Don Sancho, upon whom the Moorish king of Saragossa was to depend; the crown of Leon, and the Asturias of Oviedo, to Don Alonso; and the kingdom of Galicia, with so much of Portugal as he had conquered, to Don Garcia, the youngest. We cannot doubt but many of the nobility must have foreseen the mischiefs that would inevitably follow from this measure, so inconsistent with all maxims of policy, as well as dictates of experience: but the majority complied with

^q Chron. Var. Antiq.

^s Chron. Var. Antiq.

^r Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum.

^t Pelag. Ovetens. Liber Chronic.

and applauded the king's proposal; upon which^u, the infants Don Sancho and Don Garcia were sent to take possession of Castile and Galicia. About the same time, three Spanish prelates were sent to the council of Mantua^x; which was held by pope Alexander II. where they produced the Gothic offices; and, upon perusal, the council unanimously declared, that they were orthodox and pious; so that they have this testimony of a learned council, with a pope at its head, in favour of their ancient liturgy, if that could afford it any sanction^y.

The Moorish kings of Toledo and Saragossa were not long before they took advantage of this impolitic division of the territories of the king Don Ferdinand, which, perhaps, they might attribute to the weakness and infirmities of old age, and from thence incline to hope they might be able to shake off the yoke, and recover their independency: yet, how plausible soever these notions might be, they drew them into a hasty and fatal resolution. As they refused to pay their annual tribute, Don Ferdinand assembled a numerous and well disciplined army, with which, before they suspected any such thing, he swept the frontiers of both kingdoms, wasting the country with fire and sword, and carrying multitudes into slavery. He advanced with his victorious army into the neighbourhood of Valencia, the suburbs of which city he burnt; but finding himself indisposed, and his disorder increasing, he thought it time to retreat, and accordingly returned to Leon in the beginning of winter. His health still declining, he caused himself to be carried into the church of St. Isidore, where he performed an act of public penance for his sins, and died the very next day^z, which was the 27th of September, 1065. Besides his sons before mentioned, he left behind him two daughters, to the elder of whom, Donna Urraca, he gave the city of Zamora, which he had strongly fortified, with other lands; and to the younger, Donna Elvira, Toro, and some other places, by way of appendages, that they might live in a manner suitable to their high birth, and without being dependant upon any of their brethren^a.

*Ferdinand
dies.*

Don Sancho, king of Castile, though he submitted to the disposition which his father had made, looked upon

^u Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

^x Concil. tom. ix.

p. 1179.

^y Chron. Var. Antiq.

^z Rod. Santii Hist.

Hispan. p. iii. Alphonsi a Carthagena Reg. Hispan. Anacepha-

læosis Francisci Taraphæ, de Reg. Hispaniæ.

^a Rod. Tolet.

de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

himself

himself as extremely injured, from an opinion, that priority of birth gave him a just title to all the three kingdoms; but so long as his mother Donna Sancha lived, he did not suffer his discontent to appear, because her title to Leon, the Asturias, Galicia, and Portugal, seemed clearer than his own, and he was perfectly satisfied, that what the late king had done was through her persuasion. He reigned, therefore, quietly at Burgos, and applied himself with indefatigable diligence to render the kingdom of Castile as flourishing as possible: but that princess dying on the 7th of November, in the following year, he found himself more at liberty, and, perhaps, would have discovered his real intention sooner, if he had not been involved in a war with the kings of Arragon and Navarre, both of his own name, which most writers place two years sooner; and in which, it is said, that he met with a total defeat: but as the causes and consequences of this war are very obscurely expressed, and as it is much more probable it happened after the death of Don Ferdinand, we have followed the example of Ferreras, and placed it here, though we are not able to acquaint the reader in what manner it ended. It may be, the confederate princes, satisfied with their victory, and believing they had done enough for the security of their own dominions, were willing to give an example of moderation in their own conduct; or, perhaps, they differed between themselves, a circumstance which hindered them from pushing their success farther: but whatever the motive was, this war came to a very speedy conclusion; for any thing that appears in authentic historians, Don Sancho might have enjoyed the kingdom bestowed upon him by his father in quiet, if the turn of his own mind had not been restless and turbulent.

Don Sancho, king of Castile. engaged in war with the kings of Arragon and Navarre.

Don Alphonso, king of Leon, was a prince of a very humane and gentle disposition, in consequence of which he had stood highest in his mother's favour, by whose counsels he was chiefly directed while she lived. After her decease, he had great regard to the advice of her sisters, who were princesses of uncommon parts, and which was still more rare, had nothing of jealousy or intrigue in their tempers. One of the first steps taken by this monarch after his accession was to conclude a treaty of marriage with a princess of England, whose name was Aguda, the daughter of William I. surnamed the Conqueror, whom he espoused by proxy, and who, in her passage to Spain, died at sea. This misfortune was succeeded by another; for Don Sancho, king of Leon, invaded his dominions

War between Don Sancho, king of Castile, and Don Alphonso VI. his brother.

A.D. 1067.

with a formidable army, notwithstanding that the two princesses their sisters had laboured all that in them lay to prevent things from coming to extremities. Don Alphonso opposed him with troops superior in number, but not equal in courage, or at least in discipline. The battle
 A.D. 1068. was fought on the 19th of July, at a place called Lantada, in which Don Alphonso, being defeated^b, fled to Leon, and made the best disposition he could there for his defence; but, through the interposition of the princesses, a siege was prevented, and Don Sancho engaged to return for that year into his own dominions upon certain conditions; of which we have very indistinct accounts.

While the realms of Castile and Leon were in such confusion, and the concerns of their inhabitants turned upon each other, the arms of Don Garcia, king of Galicia, were in very little better condition: he had a favourite, to whom he confided, without reserve, the management of all his affairs: the chief of his nobility had represented to him frequently the bad use this man made of his unlimited authority; but as their remonstrances had no effect, those great lords had recourse to rougher measures, and cut this insolent favourite to pieces, almost in the presence of his master; after which execution, they thought fit to retire into the dominions of Leon, where they met with protection and favour. The inhabitants of Galicia were of a very mutinous disposition: Gudesto, bishop of Compostella, having some disputes about the rights of his church with Don Froila, a nobleman of great authority, and his near relation, the latter found means to enter the apartment of the prelate when in his bed and fast asleep, and
 A.D. 1069. stabbed him to the heart with his dagger^c; notwithstanding which outrage, the government was in such confusion, that, for any thing that appears in history, he escaped with impunity.

A.D. 1070. The peace between Don Sancho, king of Castile, and his brother Don Alphonso, king of Leon, had been with difficulty prolonged for somewhat more than a year, when Don Sancho had again recourse to arms^d, without pretending any other motive than that of despoiling Don Alphonso of his territories. The latter had assembled a numerous and well disciplined army, towards which his bro-

*Don Alonfo
beats Don
Sancho one
day, and is
defeated
the next.*

^b Roderic Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. lib. vi. Luc. Tudenfis Chron. Pelag. Ovetens Liber Chronic. ^c Roderic Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. lib. vi. Luc. Tudenf. Chronicon. ^d Chron. Var. Antiq.

ther Don Garcia^e contributed, by sending him a considerable body of auxiliaries. The two armies met, and fought on the 14th of July, when, after a long and bloody dispute, Don Alphonso remained victorious^f. If he had pursued his advantage, he might very probably have put an end to the war; but the mildness of his nature, and his unwillingness to shed the blood of his father's subjects, restrained him. Don Sancho had with him the Cid, who rallied his army, and encamped not far from the field of battle. He afterwards prevailed both upon the king and the troops to fall upon the victorious army about an hour beyond midnight; and taking them by surprise, it was rather a slaughter than a fight, since they met with little or no resistance. The king Don Alphonso mounted the first horse he could find, and fled to the first church, which was that of St. Mary de Carrion; but Don Sancho pursued him with such eagerness, that he was presently taken, and sent prisoner under a strong guard of horse to Burgos^g.

The princesses, Donna Urraca and Donna Elvira, upon Don Sancho's coming to Leon, interposed in behalf of their unfortunate brother, and were very earnest in persuading the conqueror to spare his life; to which with some difficulty he consented, upon condition that he should abdicate his dominions, consent to be shaved a monk, and retire to the abbey of Sahagon; which terms, however hard and inglorious, Don Alphonso was forced to accept, and is said to have taken a religious habit in the house before mentioned; but an historian^h who lived near these times, tells us, that Don Sancho insisted only upon his quitting his dominions, and laying aside the royal title. However that be, Don Sancho found no great opposition in establishing himself on the throne of Leon. As ambition excludes content, so Don Sancho could reap no joy in the possession of one brother's crown, while there was yet a diadem upon the head of the other; therefore, as soon as the people of Leon had submitted and sworn allegiance to him, and he had received large reinforcements from Castile, he entered Galicia with his victorious army. If the people had been in any degree united, his conquest might have been at least disputed; but their want of a good understanding with their sovereign and

*Obliged to
abdicate
his throne.*

^e Lucæ Tudenf. Chron. Pelag. Ovetens Liber Chronic. ^f Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. ^g Chron. Var. Ant. q.

^h Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Lucæ. Tudenf. Chronicon.

each other, disabled them from making any considerable resistance, and the severity with which Don Sancho treated all who opposed him, was another circumstance that facilitated his conquestⁱ. As for Don Garcia, his chief care was to avoid falling into his hands, and therefore, as soon as he found his affairs desperate, he threw himself, with such as remained firm to him under his misfortunes, who were but a few, into the dominions of the king of Seville; who, by the conquest of Cordova and Murcia, was become the most considerable of the Mohammedan monarchs in Spain, by whom he was very kindly received, and honourably protected^k.

*Don Alonso
with-
draws into
the kingdom
of Toledo.*

While Don Sancho was employed in the conquest of Galicia, Don Alphonso was contriving how to recover his liberty, and to escape out of the monastery in which he was confined, into the dominions of some foreign prince. He found means to inform the princesses his sisters of his intentions; and Donna Urraca prevailed upon three lords, of the family of Affurez, to run the hazard of facilitating his escape. They accordingly supplied him with horses; and having drawn him safely out of the monastery, conducted him with the utmost expedition to Toledo. He acquainted Ali Maymon, who was then king, with the situation of his affairs, and the reasons he had to have recourse to his protection. That monarch not only promised him all he asked, but provided for him, and those who resorted to him, with royal bounty. As he knew that he was extremely fond of hunting, he assigned him a district where he might enjoy that diversion, and where none were allowed to hunt but Christians. The sweetness of Don Alphonso's temper prevailed so much upon his protectors, that he visited him almost every day, and they lived together in the most strict and intimate friendship.

A.D. 1072.

Don Sancho, at his return to Leon, quickly gave his sisters reason to believe, that he repented in a very high degree their attachment to Don Alphonso, by signifying to them, that, having now united his father's dominions, it was no longer requisite that they should remain mistresses of the towns which he had given them; but upon their resigning these into his hands, he would assign them a maintenance suitable to their rank. They represented to him in vain how unworthy it was of so great a prince to think of oppressing two feeble women, and those too of his own blood. However, they called together their vassals,

ⁱ Chron. Var. Antiq.

^k Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum.

and acquainted them with the king's intention, whose haughty, morose, and cruel temper, having rendered him universally odious, those who depended upon the princesses, dreading nothing so much [as to become his subjects, freely offered to defend the places of which they were possessed to the utmost extremity: and this proposition being accepted, they took their measures accordingly¹.

The king was excessively provoked at this conduct, *Don Sancho forms a design to deprive his sisters of Toro and Zamora.* which he did not expect; but, on the contrary, supposed, that their vassals would either have prevailed upon them to submit, or provided for their own safety by submitting themselves. As soon as he found himself deceived in that hope, he assembled a very numerous army, which he commanded in person^m, and had for his lieutenant general Don Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid. He first attacked Toro, which belonged to Donna Elvira, and took it rather by the shew than the force of his armyⁿ, which pleased him exceedingly, and gave him great reason to hope, that he should find his next expedition attended with very little difficulty. But he very quickly found the contrary; Donna Urraca had shut herself up in Zamora, which was very well fortified, and had a numerous garrison, whom he could not intimidate by menaces, and by whom his troops were repulsed with great loss in several assaults. There was a nobleman in the town, Don Arias Gonzalez, who acted as general and prime minister for the princess Urraca, and he performed so well in both capacities, that the troops did their duty with spirit, and were well supplied from the magazines with every thing they wanted; so that at length the king of Leon, notwithstanding the superiority of his forces, found himself obliged to retire to a greater distance, and to turn his siege into a blockade. This appeared to be a certain method of reducing the place; for as they had no succours to expect, so famine within the town must have quickly brought them into greater distress than was in the power of an army without; and, indeed, all things considered, Donna Urraca and her subjects had great reason to look upon their condition as desperate.

It was not long before some in the town began to think it so, and to communicate their thoughts to their neighbours, which producing a kind of general murmur, a *Besieges Zamora, and is slain.*

¹ Chron. Var. Antiq.
Luca Tudenfis Chron.

^m Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan.
ⁿ Pelég. Ovetens Liber Chron.

council was called by the townsmen to know whether they should not demand a capitulation. After some very warm debates, one Ataulphus stood up, and assured them, that if they would have a little patience, he would undertake to deliver the place. Upon this the council broke up, and Ataulphus, at his own request, was permitted to go out of the city; he proceeded directly to the camp of the king of Leon, and having asked and obtained a private audience, he gave him an account of the council that had been held, assured him, that he was the only person who proposed a surrender; upon which they fairly turned him out of the town. He expressed great resentment, telling him, that if he would advance with a party of horse near the place, he would discover to him a postern that might be easily forced, and the city taken by storm. The king was extremely pleased with this intelligence, and, at the request of him who gave it, kept it a secret from his officers. A few days after he advanced with a part of his cavalry, and when they were within sight of the walls, Ataulphus told the king, if he would dismount he would shew him the place, and him only. He readily complied with his request, but had not gone far before he found it necessary to retire behind a bush to ease nature. Ataulphus took this opportunity to strike him through the body with his javelin, and leaving him swimming in his own blood, made his escape. Thus fell the ambitious Don Sancho, king of Leon, Castile, and Galicia, on the 5th of October, 1072, when he had reigned almost seven years. The greatest part of his army separated immediately upon the news of the king's death; but the Castilian troops retired in good order, carrying his corpse with them, which they caused to be interred with royal honour in the monastery of Ona°.

*Don Alonfo
El. returns
into his
own domi-
nions.*

The first care of Donna Urraca, when the blockade was raised, was to dispatch an express to Toledo, to desire Don Alphonso to make all the dispatch imaginable in repairing to Zamora°. When he communicated this intelligence to those who were about him, they unanimously dissuaded him from acquainting the Moorish prince, from an apprehension that he would not suffer him to depart. Their arguments had no effect upon Don Alonfo. He said, that princes might indeed be justified from policy in dealing artificially with each other, but that such a be-

° Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii. Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

° Chron. Var. Antiq.

haviour was inexcusable between friends. He went therefore to Ali Maymon, presented to him his sister's letters, and desired his permission to return into his own dominions⁹. That monarch received him with all imaginable kindness. Concealing his own intelligence, which was very near as early as Don Alphonso's, he gave him the strongest assurances, that his pleasure was not greater than his own, and, having gently put him in mind of the kindnesses he had done him, requested a continuance of his friendship towards himself and his eldest son Hisslem. Don Alonso having promised in the most solemn terms to maintain their friendship inviolably, he dismissed him with all imaginable marks of esteem, and under the escort of a strong party of horse, by whom he was safely conducted to Zamora, where he was received with all possible testimonies of affection and duty, as well as with the greatest tenderness, by the princess Donna Urraca, to whose firmness and fidelity he owed his restoration¹.

The principal nobility of Leon and Galicia repaired very chearfully to Zamora to congratulate Don Alphonso upon this happy turn in his affairs, and to assure him of their fidelity. The Castilians, however, were not altogether so hasty, but they acted with as much prudence, and perhaps with more dignity; for after some deliberation they sent deputies to Don Alphonso, to acquaint him that they were willing to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and were for this reason desirous of his presence at Burgos; but knowing, as he did, that their late king fell by the hand of a traitor, they expected he should purge himself by oath of all privity or participation in that action². Don Alphonso readily accepted the crown on this condition, and went to Burgos as he was desired; but when it came to the issue, none of the Castilian nobility had courage enough to require the king's oath. At length Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid, not only administered the oath, but obliged the king to repeat it twice; an act of presumption, which Alphonso resented so much, that Don Rodrigo could never after recover his good graces³. This ceremony being performed, the king took possession of the government, to the great joy and with the general satisfaction of the Castilians.

*Invited in-
to Castile.*

⁹ Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum.
Chron. Pelag. Ovetens liber Chron.
de Reb. Hispan. Lucæ Tudenfis Chron.
Antiq.

¹ Lucæ Tudenfis
² Roderic Toletan
³ Chron. Var.

*Don Alonso
imprisons
Don Gar-
cia.*

As soon as the news of Don Sancho's death, and Don Alphonso's being quietly admitted to the succession, reached Seville, Don Garcia requested the Moorish monarch, with whom he had taken shelter, to permit him to return into his own dominions, a request which was immediately granted. What reception he met with from his subjects, or how he behaved towards them, we cannot with any certainty affirm. Don Alonso, being informed of his resuming the government in Galicia, invited him to a conference; upon which he very readily came to Leon, and though at first received with all outward testimonies of kindness, was in a short time arrested by the advice of Donna Urraca, and sent prisoner to the castle of Luna, where he spent the remainder of his days ^u. It is alleged, that he was of a mutable and yet of a violent temper, which obliged his brother to have recourse to this method of treating him for his own security. We write the history and not the apologies of princes; the reader will judge of this action for himself; but certain it is, that the more ancient historians are not so complaisant to the memory of Don Alphonso in this particular as the moderns ^w. We pretend not to determine the controversy, but we fairly report the facts. Their king being a prisoner, the Galicians readily and perhaps willingly submitted to Don Alonso, who thus united once more the dominions of his father, and became master of Castile, Leon, and Galicia ^x.

A D. 1073.

*The pope
sends car-
dinal Hugo
in quality
of legate
into Spain.*

The divisions among Christian princes were the true source of the papal power, which began now to extend itself in Spain. Don Alphonso found the Roman service introduced in the neighbouring kingdom of Arragon, and the emissaries of the pope used all their arts to engage the king's inclination to receive it also throughout his dominions. Gregory the Seventh had succeeded Alexander the Second; and having received some complaints of the behaviour of his legates in the other principalities of Spain, he made choice of cardinal Hugo, surnamed the White, to repair these mistakes. He sent him with special recommendations to the court of Leon, and with instructions no doubt to make himself as agreeable there as he possibly could. He proved an active and an able minister, as appeared from his success; for after a short stay he prevailed

^u Chron. Var. Antiq.
Turquet.

^w Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne,
^x Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Lucæ

Tudensis Chron.

upon the king to suffer his ambaffadors to accompany him to Rome, to assure the holy father of his obedience, and to follicit the establishment of the Roman offices in all the churches throughout his territories.

Don Alphonfo had once been married without ever seeing his wife, and believing that the safety of himself and subjects depended in a great measure upon his leaving posterity, he judged it high time to think of a second marriage; to which it may be he was instigated also by the legate. The lady upon whom he cast his eyes, or rather who was recommended to him, was Donna Agnes ^y, the daughter of the duke of Guêne and count of Poitiers, and their marriage was quickly concluded and celebrated. The rejoicings upon this occasion were interrupted by the news of a war, in which Don Alonso thought himself obliged to take a part. Ambition prompted Mohammed Aben-Habet, king of Seville, who had already united three Moorish principalities, to attempt the conquest of a fourth, and it was with this view that he assembled the whole forces of his dominions; but as this step could not be taken without Don Alonso's knowlege; this prince not knowing where the storm would fall, likewise assembled an army; and upon receiving advice that the king of Seville had entered the dominions of the king of Toledo on one side, he without any ceremony entered them on the other ^z. Ali-Maymon, as soon as he had intelligence of Don Alonso's irruption, sent ambaffadors to put him in mind of the old friendship that had passed between them. Don Alonso smiled at the gravity of their harangue, and assured them, that it was no other than the sense of that obligation that brought him thither, and that Ali-Maymon might rest satisfied, that his own subjects would not serve him more chearfully than the forces under his command ^a. This assurance made a speedy and strange alteration. Ali-Maymon, who had fortified Toledo, understanding the approach of Don Alonso and his intentions, instead of expecting a siege, marched out and joined him with all his forces. Some authors say, he attacked and routed the king of Seville in a general engagement; though others affirm, upon the junction of the armies, this last thought it expedient to retire into his own territories, and soon after made a peace with the king of Toledo upon equitable

*Don Alonso
espouses
Donna
Agnes.*

A.D. 1074.

^y Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Pelag. Ovetens
liber Chronic. ^z Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum. ^a Lucæ
Tudenfis Chron.

conditions ; but, however, it is on all hands agreed, that Don Alonso had the honour of putting an end to this war, and of expressing, in the most honourable manner, his gratitude and affection towards his royal protector.

*Amazing
assurance
in pope
Gregory
VII.*

We have more than once observed, that it is dangerous for the princes even in communion with Rome to shew any extraordinary respect or deference for those who style themselves the successors of St. Peter. We have a most amazing instance of this truth in the conduct of Gregory the Seventh, who, having received the ambassadors of Don Alonso, king of Leon, Castile, and Galicia, and the report of his legate cardinal Hugo, who by the way has an extreme bad character in history, judged it proper to make him a suitable return. This was claiming the supreme and absolute dominion of all his kingdoms, and not of his only, but of all the Christian princes in Spain ; which strange title was suggested to stand upon as strange a foundation, that is, on a commission granted to Eblon, count of Roussi, to conquer countries in the hands of Infidels, which he was to possess and enjoy for his pains, yielding an annual tribute, and acknowledging himself feudatory to the holy see of Rome. When or where this great conqueror lived does not at all appear, or what this commission to him had to do with the crowns of Spain. Ferreras seems to suggest, that the argument drawn from hence was analogical. The count de Roussi, in case he conquered lands from the Infidels, was to hold them from the see of Rome, and to pay an annual tribute ; therefore, according to this precedent, all territories conquered from Infidels were to be held from the see of Rome by an annual tribute. A very wild title this ; and from an error in the date of the pope's letter one would be glad, for the credit of these bishops, to suppose it counterfeit. But this pope did not stop at a single letter, to which Don Alphonso and the other princes seem to have given no immediate answer, because they knew not well what answer to give, but repeated and insisted upon his demand, at the same time that he enjoined the kings of Leon and Navarre to lay aside the Gothic service, and to receive that of the Roman church. This insolence at last obliged Don Alphonso and the others, to answer plainly that they were independent princes, and would own no superior upon earth. As to the other part of the injunction, the king of Leon was inclined to grant it, and did as much as he thought convenient to do ; but some of the bishops in his dominions peremptorily refused to quit their ancient liturgy ;

turgy; and others, in obedience, or rather in complaisance to the king, introduced the Roman service.

But we find no traces of the pope's interposition in another great affair, where it might have been more reasonably expected. Don Sancho, king of Navarre, being murdered by one of his brothers, and some others of his family being suspected of conniving at it, his subjects absolutely refused to obey any of his race or line. The infant Don Ramiro, one of the brothers of the deceased king, called in Don Alonso, who possessed himself of Biscay and Rioja, while most of the nobility declared for Don Sancho, king of Arragon, who got possession of the rest ^b. Don Alonso took the infant Don Ramiro, and the infantas Donna Urraca, Ximena, and Mayao, into his care; but what became of Don Garcia, the king's son, unless he died in his infancy, does not appear. If ever the interposition of Rome was necessary, it was in such a case as this, to prevent orphans and innocent persons from being injured; but of this we hear nothing. Yet the next year a council ^c was called at Burgos to force the Roman service upon the people. Upon this occasion, it is said, that the contest between the two offices was put upon the issue of a duel; that the Gothic knight prevailed, and that both the services being thrown into the fire, the old book escaped without hurt; but notwithstanding this miracle the king persuaded the major part of the ecclesiastics to make a canon, enjoining the use of the Roman service, which was attended with great murmurings and heart-burnings among the people.

In the course of the following year came a legate from the pope, who found or made a great deal of business at court. The king it seems had a mind to part with his wife. He had an ecclesiastical favourite Robert, bishop of Sahagon, who had made himself some enemies by reforming that monastery, and who, being addicted to the old service-book, could find no passage there that would countenance kings parting with their wives from humour or disgust. The legate was much an abler man; he did the king's business and his own with great facility; he found out that the queen Donna Agnes was some way related to the king's first queen Agueda; whom, as the reader will remember, he never saw; and upon this pretence

A.D. 1075.

Don Alonso seizes part of Navarre, and the king of Arragon the rest.

Pope's legate divorces the king from one queen, and his chaplain finds another.

^b Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. ^c Cardinalis d'Aguirre Conc. Hisp. tom. iii. p. 238.

A.D. 1080.

of consanguinity he dissolved the marriage. He likewise excommunicated abbot Robert, and sent him back into France from whence he came; in his room came another French ecclesiastic, whose name was abbot Barnard, who, before the close of the year, negotiated a new marriage for the king with Donna Constantia, daughter of Robert, the first duke of Burgundy ^d. The poor repudiated queen likewise found afterwards another husband ^e in the lifetime of the king; such was the purity that attended the new discipline, or rather such were the conveniencies that accompanied the submission to the holy see, and such the arts by which the pope's legates raised themselves into the favour of princes.

The kingdom and city of Toledo conquered.

The good old king of Toledo, and Hissam, his eldest son, being dead within little more than the compass of a year, Hiaya, the younger son of the one, and brother to the other, was seated on the throne, and proved, as the Spaniards ^f say, a very great tyrant; insomuch that the people of Toledo solicited Don Alonso to make himself master of that city and kingdom; but if we advert to facts, we cannot help perceiving, that the conjuncture was extremely inviting. The ambitious and all-grasping king of Seville had already attacked the unfortunate monarch of Toledo; the king of Arragon pressed hard upon other Mohammedan princes; so that this unlucky king had not either an ally or a protector, when Don Alonso made his first irruption into that which is now called New Castile. We have no very perfect account of this war; but from the memorials still preserved, it is apparent, that it lasted full four campaigns, during which Don Alphonso wasted all the country, and took every place of importance in the neighbourhood of Toledo. Thus, having prepared all things for the reduction of the place, he came the fifth year with a very numerous army; and, having first blockaded the city till the inhabitants began to be in want, he at length turned that blockade into a siege. It is allowed, that Hiaya defended himself with great courage and firmness, and that Don Alphonso lost abundance of men before the place, circumstances which induced some of the citizens to represent to Hiaya, that it was better to capitulate in time than to expose them to certain death by famine or the sword. That prince clearly perceived, by the manner in which this advice was given

^d Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. Lucæ Tudensis Chron.
^e Pelag. Ovetens liber Chron.

^f Chron. Var. Antiq.

him, that he had nothing to do but to follow it; for that otherwise the authors of it were like to treat for themselves. He therefore demanded terms from Don Alphonso, and obtained such as would not have been given, if there had been any great probability of Toledo's being taken by force. In fine, it was agreed, that the king, and such as would share his fortunes, should have leave to go where they pleased; that the inhabitants should enjoy their religion and laws, and not suffer the smallest injury either in their persons or properties. The city being surrendered, Hiaya retired with his followers to Valentia, where he established the seat of his government, and passed the remainder of his days in the peaceable possession of a small principality; which seems to render it plain, that he might have reigned as quietly over his hereditary kingdom, if he had been happy in having better neighbours (C).

This

z Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum.

(C) While Don Alonso was employed in the preparations for his great design of conquering Toledo, some of the detachments which he had sent to spoil the country advanced towards the frontiers of the territories held by the Moorish prince of Saragossa; and as he had not the least conception of the king's real intention, he judged his own dominions to be in the utmost danger; and as he had no forces capable of resisting those of the king of Leon and Castile, he had recourse to a stratagem that succeeded in part, and was very near being attended with all the success that he could expect from it. The stratagem was this: he ordered Aben-Falax, one of his principal commanders, to enter into a secret treaty with Don Alonso, in which he gave him to understand, that he had received such ill usage from his master as had determined him to quit his service, and at

the same time to make himself master of the castle of Rueda, near the river Xalon, five miles from Saragossa, which, as he was apprehensive he could not defend with his own troops, he was willing to give it up to those of the king of Castile, provided he would come thither in person to accept of his homage. This was accordingly executed, with so much cunning and address, that Don Alonso readily embraced it, and promised to do all that was expected or desired from him. Some, however, of the nobility were not so easily deceived, either because they knew the character of Aben-Falax, or had some secret reason for distrusting his insinuations. However that was, they prevailed upon the king not to go in person, but sent a body of troops, who summoned the Moor to the performance of his promise. Aben-Falax trifled for a time, and pretended that he would

This city was surrendered to the Christians on the 25th of May, 1085, after it had been in possession of the infidels three hundred and seventy-two years^b. Don Alphonso, who knew the importance of it, resolved to make it the capital of his dominionsⁱ, and to people it as soon as possible with Christians, of whom he found many, and some illustrious families that had lived there from the time of the conquest by the Moors, and were for that reason, styled Mozarabians: there were likewise abundance of Jews; and the number of Mohammedans who chose to remain under his protection was very considerable. There remained, however, room for many new inhabitants, and it was not long before they were supplied. On the other hand, Don Alphonso omitted nothing that might render persons of different nations and different faiths easy under his government; and it very quickly appeared that he acted in this particular, as a very wise and prudent prince, capable of foreseeing and providing against dangers that might otherwise have proved fatal to his interests.

^b Mariana *Historia general de Hispana*, lib. ix. Ferreras *Hist. de Hispan.* p. v. sect. xi. ⁱ *Luce Tudensis Chron.* Pelag. Ovetens *liber Chronic.*

would give up the place to none but the king. However, finding this would not do, he at length proposed to surrender it to such persons of distinction as the king should please to charge with his commission; upon which Don Alphonso, desirous of having the place, which was of great consequence, sent the infant Don Ramiro of Navarre, the infant Don Sanchez of Navarre, the count Gonzalez de Salvadores, the count Don Nunez de Lara, and some other persons of great rank, with full powers to promise, in his name, what the Moors should require; who had no sooner prevailed upon

them to enter his fortress than he caused them to be murdered. The king, upon hearing of this infamous act of treachery, came with all his forces, in hopes of reducing it, and of punishing Aben-Falax; but the place was so completely fortified, the garrison so numerous, and the magazines so well supplied, that, after several assaults to little or no purpose, he was obliged to retire, and to furnish the relations of the noble persons that were slain with a sum of money to ransom their bodies, which were interred with great pomp in the monasteries of Najara and Ona (1).

(1) *Chron. Monachi Sancti Joannis, Annal. Toletan.* Ferreras *Historia de Hispana*, p. v. sect. xi.

The Mohammedans were astonished when they saw Toledo in the hands of the Christians, and the greatness of their loss was evident from the effects of that impression it made upon them, since they immediately composed their differences, and entered into a league against Don Alphonso^k. The principal powers at the head of this confederacy were the kings of Seville and Badajoz, who at the same time sent ambassadors to the princes of their religion in Africa, imploring their immediate assistance; alleging, that they were now engaged in a religious war, and that Don Alonso had nothing less in view than to extirpate all who professed the faith of Mohammed. These preparations and intrigues were no secret to the victorious monarch of Castile and Leon. That he might not appear wanting in his own defence, he assembled a numerous army in the spring, and at the same time appointed a council to be held in his new capital the Christmas following, in order to the choice of an archbishop of that metropolitan see, which he had so fortunately restored to the Christians, and which he very justly regarded as the most considerable event of his reign.

As soon as the season would permit, he marched with his forces into the territories of the king of Badajoz, that he might convince him of his temerity in putting himself at the head of a league against so powerful a prince. He ravaged the country of Estremadura with fire and sword, and at length, meeting no resistance, besieged, and in a short time made himself master of Coria^l. But the two Mohammedan kings having by this time assembled a numerous army of hardy and well disciplined troops, advanced to give him battle; and accordingly, on the 23d of October, the armies met between Merida and Badajoz, where, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, Don Alonso was defeated. Some authors say, that he was wounded in the leg, and that, having on his return to Coria reprimanded some of the nobility sharply, they went over to the Mohammedan. Whatever truth there may be in these facts, we find the king the beginning of November at Toledo, where he held a council, in which Don Bernard, abbot of Sahagon, was elected archbishop of Toledo. There the nobility gave the king their advice as to the most effectual means of raising a new army, numerous enough to repair the loss he had lately sustained,

A.D. 1086.

*Don Alonso
takes Co-
ria.*

^k Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum.

^l Roderic Toletan de

Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Parg. Ovetens. liber Chronic.

and prevent the infidels from acting, as it was evident they would otherwise do, offensively, as soon as the season would permit.

The king was resolved not to trust entirely to the strength of his own dominions, extensive as they were. He wrote to Philip the First, king of France, desiring his assistance, and to the great lords of his kingdom, amongst whom count Raymond of Burgundy, and count Besançon went in person, at the head of a considerable body of troops, to the relief of the Christians in Spain against the infidels. But before their arrival the war was at an end; for Don Alonso having drawn together the whole force of his dominions, and marching towards his frontiers, that the infidels might see that he meant not to decline another action, the two Moorish princes, apprehensive of being overwhelmed by the foreign troops that they knew were raising, in order to pass the Pyrenees, entered into a negotiation, in which, as they were very sincere, and as Don Alonso found peace at that juncture very convenient to him, it was not long before terms were settled to their mutual satisfaction^m. Yet whether these Moorish princes became his vassals, and agreed to pay him an annual tribute, as some historians say they did, is more than we can find sufficient authority to assert, and think it a point of too great consequence to be determined by bare conjecture.

The cathedral of Toledo taken.

According to the capitulation of Toledo, the cathedral, which the Mohammedans had converted into a mosque, was to remain in their hands, a condition with which the king punctually complied. But the new metropolitan Don Bernard looked upon this a reproach to Christianity, and by his vehement declamations persuaded the queen to be of the same opinion; in consequence of which, while the king was in the field, they dispossessed the Moors by force of that noble structure, restored it to its former condition, and consecrated and celebrated divine service thereinⁿ, not without great danger of raising an insurrection. The Moors, however, reflected very prudently, that as this step was taken in the king's absence, and without his knowledge, they ought, in justice to themselves and him, to try first what might be done in the way of expostulation. They accordingly sent deputies to meet Don Alonso, and to inform him of what had happened. The king, upon hear-

^m Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arab.
pan. lib. vi. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

ⁿ Roderic Tolet. de Reb. Hisp.

ing of this flagrant breach of faith, which was at the same time the highest insult upon his authority, though he was naturally of a calm and moderate disposition, fell into such a transport of rage against the queen and the archbishop, as terrified the Moorish deputies. They left his camp, returned to Toledo, and made such a report to their brethren, as induced them to go in a body out of the city to meet the king, and to beseech him to pardon the authors of this injustice, offering at the same time to depart from their pretensions to the cathedral, rather than become the instruments of confusion in a state where they were willing to live peaceably, and to enjoy the benefit of his royal protection: a very singular instance of prudence and self-denial, which ought certainly to give us a very high opinion of their morals and good sense. The pacification thus made, the king entered the city in triumph, with the universal acclamations of all his subjects; and on the 25th of October following, the cathedral was solemnly consecrated by the archbishop Don Bernard, in the presence of the king and queen.^p A.D. 1087.

As every thing was now quiet, Don Alonso resolved to take this opportunity of fortifying his dominion effectually, by repairing the many cities that were destroyed in the course of the war, and to repeople them with Christians.^q He began with those of Segovia, Avila, and Salamanca, and committed the care of their restoration to count Raymond, who, in all probability, settled in them a great part of his own people.^r The king likewise determined to repair all the great towns between the river Duero and the mountains that separate the two Castiles; and by encouraging people to come and live in them, he hoped to put the new kingdom he had conquered into such a condition as, in case of fresh troubles, it might be able to furnish a strength sufficient to defend itself. In this design, likewise, he was so well seconded by count Raymond, that the several great towns of Medina del Campo, Aravelo, Olmedo, Coca, Iscar, Cuellar, Sepulveda, and Osma, were restored, and filled with Christian inhabitants in the space of a few years.^s In return for these and other eminent services, as well as to attach him to the like for the

Don Garcias dies in prison.

^p Roder. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Pelag. Ovetens. Liber Chronic.
^q Luc. Tudenf. Chronicon. Roderic. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iii.
^r Pelag. Ovetens. Liber Chronicon. Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon.
^s Chron. Var. Antiq. Roderic. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. lib. vi.

future, the king bestowed upon Don Raymond his only daughter, Donna Urraca, whom he had by the reigning queen^t. About this time, and chiefly through the mixture of foreigners that resorted into Spain, they quitted the old Gothic characters of writing, and began to make use of those that were common in other parts of Europe through all this monarch's dominions^u. Don Garcia, king of Galicia, after having lived many years in captivity, died in the castle of Luna, on the 22d of May, anno Domini 1091; some say of disease; but Mariana^w asserts, of despair, and that he opened his veins with his own hands. His corpse was transported to Leon, and interred with those of his ancestors in the church of St. Isidore; the king and queen, together with the infantas Donna Urraca and Donna Elvira, and most of the great lords and bishops assisting thereat; and, which is more remarkable, the irons he had worn in prison were interred with him, according to his own direction^x. Next year Donna Constantia, wife to Don Alonso, died, and he soon after married Donna Bertha, the sister of his son-in-law Don Raymond, in hopes of male issue; nor does it appear that consanguinity in this case troubled the conscience of the king, or gave any offence to Rome, though Don Raymond, and consequently his sister, was nearly allied to the deceased queen.

*Don Alonso
extends
his domi-
mons.*

The interior parts of his dominions being in perfect order, Don Alonso held it expedient to renew his excursions on the infidels; for he was sensible, that if his troops remained long inactive they might degenerate in point of discipline, or become seditious and turbulent. To prevent these inconveniences he made an irruption into the country, since styled Portugal, with a resolution not only to harraßs and plunder it, but to make an absolute conquest of it; very justly conceiving, that whatever he took from the Moors was doubly beneficial to the Christians, as at the same time that it weakened one interest, it added to the strength of another; his army took the field early in the spring, and began their operations with the siege of Coimbra, which being speedily reduced, he pro-

A.D. 1093.

^t Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii. Alphonſi a Carthagena Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæoſis. Franciſci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispaniæ.
^u Chron. Var. Antiq. ^w Hiſtoria General de Hiſpana, lib. ix.
^x Rod. Toletan. de Reb. Hiſpan. Luc. Tudenſ. Chron. Pelag. Ovetenſ. Liber Chronic.

ceeded to Sanctaren, which having subdued, he marched next to besiege Lisbon, and afterwards took Sintria by capitulation on the 9th of May^y. At this very time he was also engaged in a war against Don Sancho, king of Arragon, as an auxiliary to the Moors. The case was this; the king of Huesca had become his tributary, and insisted upon his protection, in case he was attacked by the king of Arragon, who was raising, as he apprehended, an army for that purpose; and it was the dread of that army that hindered Don Alonso from meeting with any resistance in his conquests. Next year this war broke out, and most of the Moorish princes entered into a league for the support of the king of Huesca, whose capital was quickly besieged. To this confederate army Don Alonso joined a body of auxiliaries, under the command of Don Garcia, count of Najara; but Don Sancho, king of Navarre, being wounded at this siege, and dying^z soon after this event, suspended the operations of that war for the present.

In the succeeding year died Donna Bertha, and Don Alphonso gave his natural daughter Donna Theresa, whom he had by Donna Ximena Nugnez, to Henry Befançon, who had accompanied his son-in-law Don Raymond into Spain. As an establishment for his daughter, he bestowed upon him all that he had conquered in Portugal, with the title of count, to be enjoyed by him after his decease, with a reservation only of homage to his successors, as the Spaniards say; but, as the Portuguese writers affirm, without any such reservation at all. Next year the war broke out again between Don Pedro, the son of Don Sancho, king of Arragon, and the infidels, which called Don Alonso's troops into the field as auxiliaries of his vassal, the king of Huesca; but Don Pedro, though his army was inferior in number to the confederates, gave them battle on the 18th of November, in the plain of Alcoraz, and, after a sharp and long engagement, totally defeated them, with vast loss on the side of the Moors: as to Don Garcia, and the troops under his command, they were made prisoners^a. By this glorious success, the conquest of Huesca was secured, and an end put to that Moorish principality.

Don Alonso, either desirous of male issue, or weary of being longer a widower, and having heard wonders of Zaide, the daughter of Mohammed Aben Habet, king of Seville, esteemed the most beautiful and accomplished princess of that age, resolved to espouse her, in case she

A.D. 1094.

His forces made prisoners before Huesca.

A.D. 1095.

Marries the daughter of the king of Seville.

^y Pelag. Ovetens. Liber Chronic. Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^z Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Pelag. Ovetens. Liber Chron. ^a Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum. Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon.

would change her religion. The proposition was very agreeable to her father, and the princess making no difficulty as to the condition, the marriage was quickly concluded and celebrated^b; by which Don Alphonso acquired several places that were very convenient; and, on the other hand, restored, as a mark of his friendship, Sanctaren, Cintria, and Lisbon, to the king of Seville; who, upon the whole, was no gainer by this marriage. Some writers speak of Zaide as the concubine only of Don Alphonso, and a contemporary writer mentions her in this light; but as he afterwards retracts this opinion, and acknowledges her for the lawful wife of Don Alphonso, there seems to be no reason to question this fact. It was in consequence of this alliance that, by the persuasion of his father-in-law, Don Alphonso entered into a negotiation with Joseph, king of the west part of Africa, that is, of the kingdoms now known by the name of Fez and Morrocco. The kings of Leon and Seville meditated the destruction of all the Moorish principalities in Spain, in order to divide their territories between them; and, to effect this scheme, they demanded these auxiliaries, upon certain conditions, from this African monarch, who entered very readily into the treaty, and promised to furnish troops for the destruction of his brethren with all the readiness that the confederates could wish^c.

*Joseph,
king of
Fez, Tre-
mecen,
and Mo-
rocco, con-
quers Se-
ville.*

But king Joseph had very different designs in his head: he assembled a very numerous army and a large fleet for their embarkation, and landed them without any difficulty or opposition at Malaga. There he received ambassadors from the little Moorish princes, who were to be the victims of this alliance, who represented to him, that Mohammed Aben Habet was a Christian in his heart, and intended nothing less than the total destruction of the Moors and the Mohammedan religion in Spain, a design which, in all probability, he would accomplish, unless, accepting of their assistance, the king would deprive him of his dominions, and condescend to become the protector of the faithful in Spain. This overture was in a great measure what king Joseph designed: he accepted their offer without the least hesitation; and, marching directly to Seville, became master of the place, and of the person of king Mohammed without difficulty or dispute. Having thus acquired a great kingdom, he began to look about him, and

^b Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Pelag. Ovetens. Liber Chronicon. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii. ^c Rod. Toletan Hist. Arabum. Pelag. Ovetens. Liber Chronic. Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon.

to consider of the proper means of executing his own project in its full extent; and this it was that led him to affect a kind of neutrality towards Don Alonso, and to carry on the war against his own nation till he had reduced Granada, Almeria, and Murcia. He also forced some other lesser lords to acknowledge him for their sovereign; and, in the end, made himself master of the best part of the rich country of Andalusia with little or no resistance.

A.D. 1097.

It is necessary to say something here of the origin of this new people with respect to Spain, whom the historians of that country call Almoravides^d: they were part of an Arab tribe that entered that district of Africa, which they now possessed, near half a century before, that they might live more at their ease, and in a state of retirement, as pretending to follow the dictates of the Khoran more closely than others of their sect, from whence they took the name of Morabites; from which, as we observed, the Spaniards borrowed their appellation of Almoravides. The first prince or chief of this nation was Abubekr Ben Omar, who, in Spanish authors, is commonly called Abu Texifen^e; and to him this Joseph had succeeded, under whose administration their affairs had prospered exceedingly. Whatever, therefore, he might pretend upon his first invitation, his real project was to make himself master of as much of Spain as possible, both at the expence of Christians and Moors; and the reason that he first fell upon the latter was, that his power might acquire a suitable augmentation before he run the hazard of contending with Don Alonso, whose reputation was very great, and of whose power all the Moorish princes were very apprehensive: but the king of Leon and Castile penetrating his design, sent an army, commanded by Don Rodrigo and Don Garcia de Cabra, to insult Seville; while Joseph was with his troops in the kingdom of Murcia. He marched, however, to intercept this body of forces, and obliged them to fight in the neighbourhood of Rueda, in La Mancha; where, after a warm engagement, the Christian army, through the bad behaviour of Don Garcia Ordonez, was defeated, a great number slain, and a still greater number made prisoners.

A short account of the Almoravides.

The African monarch would, in all probability, have entertained a much higher notion of his victory, if Don

^d Mariana Historia General de Hispan. lib. ix. Ferreras Historia de Hispan. p. v. sect. xi. Mayerne, Turquet Histoire General d'Espagne, livre viii. ^e Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon,

Garcias Ordonez, and some of his adherents who went over to him, had not given him such intelligence as left him no room to doubt, that this would prove a matter of very little consequence with regard to the fate of the war, since Don Alonso would soon be at the head of another army, and, by commanding in person, prevent such accidents ^f as that to which he owed his victory. The truth of this information quickly appeared; for Don Alonso was indefatigable in raising forces through all his dominions. As soon as the season would permit, he took the field, and marched directly towards Seville, though he was informed that his antagonist was at the head of a more numerous army. Joseph, however, taking the advice of Don Garcia, acted wholly on the defensive: he saw clearly, that if he lost the battle, it would never be repaired; and that, as things stood, he had not a force sufficient to deal with the king of Castile and Leon, and at the same time keep the Spanish Moors in awe; for this reason he took a resolution of returning to Africa, and sending over a fresh army, which he accordingly executed; while Don Alonso, finding it impossible to force the enemy to a battle, after he had ravaged the country about Seville, and enriched his army with booty and slaves, returned into his own dominions^g, much less satisfied with the success of his expedition than those who attended him, as he had received certain information, that Joseph had in a manner extirpated Christianity in Andalusia, by transporting into Africa such of the Mozarabians as had not an opportunity of making their escape^h: an act of policy, or rather of violence, which proved afterwards a fatal precedent for the Moors, as will be seen in the course of this history.

King Joseph finds it expedient to return to Morocco.

The orders and persuasions of the African monarch were so cheerfully obeyed, and had so great an influence over his subjects, that, before the close of the year, he sent over incredible reinforcements to Spain, with orders to Almohait Hiaya, his lieutenant-general, to push the war with vigour, and to make all possible use of his superiority. Almohait executed these orders with great punctuality, and took the field early with so numerous an army, that Don Alonso was forced in his turn to retire into his hereditary dominions, and to summon all his nobility to join him under the highest penalties; yet, before this

^f Chron. Var. Antiq. ^g Pelag. Ovetens. Lib. Chron. Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Roderic Toletan, de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi.
^h Roderic Toletan, Hist. Arabum.

could be done, the Moorish general had actually invested Toledo, which siege he carried on with the utmost vigour, and even made several assaults, in which he was not only repulsed, but suffered great loss. On the approach, therefore, of Don Alonso, at the head of all his forces, he found himself in no condition to venture a battle; therefore retired in his turn, and contented himself with taking a place on the frontiers, that he might have a passage open to renew his excursions whenever a favourable opportunity should offer¹. About this time died the infanta Donna Elvira the king's sister; and this year was also fatal to that famous hero Don Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid, who, with his own troops, and some assistance from Don Alonso, had taken Valentia from the infidels, and had gallantly maintained his conquest against several vigorous efforts that had been made to recover it, though far inferior in strength to the assailants (D).

A.D. 1099.

In

¹ Pelag. Ovet. lib. Chron. Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum. Lucae Tudenfis Chronicon.

(D) In the compass of this note we intend to give a succinct account of that celebrated hero in Spanish histories, as well as romance, Don Roderigo Dias de Bivar, surnamed the Cid, which in Arabic signifies *lord*. He was undoubtedly a person of very high quality in Old Castile; but we dare not pretend to give his genealogy, or even to warrant that found in Mariana and other historians. The first time we find the Cid mentioned in the more ancient authors, is in the year 1063, when he assisted the prince Don Sancho, who marched with a body of auxiliaries to the assistance of a Moorish prince, when he had a large share in the battle of Grao, where Don Ramiro, the first king of Aragon, was defeated and slain. In 1068 and 1070, he commanded under Don Sancho, king of Castile, against his

brother Don Alonso, as is very certain; but that he attended that monarch into Galicia, rescued him when taken in battle, and afterwards brought Don Garcia prisoner, though related by some modern historians, is not so well established as to deserve entire credit. In 1072 he commanded, under his master Don Sancho, at the siege of Zamora, and retired from thence in good order with the Castilian forces, carrying with him the royal corpse, which he caused to be interred in the monastery of Ona. We have remarked in the text, that he alone, of all the Castilian nobility, was so hardy as to administer the oath of exculpation to Don Alonso at Burgos, and, by the manner in which he did it, incurred his displeasure. Two years after, perceiving that the king's resentment continued, he resolved to retire

*The city of
Valentia
defended
against the
Moors.*

In the first year of the twelfth century deceased Donna Urraca, who, as well as her sister the infanta Donna Elvira, preserved her virginity during her whole life, and was buried with great magnificence in the church of St. Isidore. The city of Jerusalem being at this time taken from the infidels by the forces of the Christian princes, under the command of Godfrey of Bouillon, several Spanish noblemen proceeded to Rome, with an intention of joining the succours that were about to pass into the Holy Land; but pope Paschal II. very prudently interposed, and advised them to return home, and first deliver their own country from the infidels. The Moors, as soon as they had intelligence of the death of the Cid, made very little doubt of their recovering Valentia, and therefore bent all their forces that way. Don Alonso opposed to them a

retire out of his dominions, notwithstanding he had married a little before Donna Ximena Diaz, daughter to Don Diego Alvarez de las Asturias. Accordingly, followed by all his friends and dependents, and many of his relations, he went into Arragon; where, after ravaging and plundering the country adjacent, he at length made himself master of the castle of Alcocer, situated at a very small distance from Calatagud. Thither resorted to him a multitude of malecontents from Castile and Leon, which enabled him to continue his inroads upon the Moors with great success. As he extended his conquest gradually, he penetrated at length into the district of Teruel, or, as some write it, Tervel, twenty-seven leagues south of Saragossa, where he fixed his residence in a strong fortress, called to this day Pena de el Cid, that is, *the Rock of the Cid*. It was

during his residence here, that he had intelligence of the execrable murder of the unfortunate Hiaya, formerly king of Toledo, and then lord of Valentia, traiterously slain by Aben Japhet, who usurped his little principality. Upon this the Cid sent to the king, Don Alonso, to put him in mind of the obligations he was under to revenge that poor prince's death, and to desire, that he would send him a small detachment of troops, with which, joined to his own, he would try his fortune before Valentia. The king applauded his design, granted him all and even more than he asked; and the Cid, in 1094, after a long siege, took the city, and defended it against the whole force of the Moors, who attempted to recover it. There he continued the remaining part of his life; and there, full of years and of glory, he died in 1099 (1).

(1) Mariana Historia General de Hispana, lib. ix. Ferreras Historia de Hispana, par. v. sect. 11. Mayerne, Turquet, Histoire General d'Espagne, liv. viii.

very numerous army, under the command of his son-in-law the count Don Henry; who, endeavouring to stop their passage, gave them battle at Malagon, where, however, he met with a signal defeat^k; notwithstanding which, Donna Ximena, the widow of the Cid, assisted by Don Alvaro Fanez, the governor, defended the place with such spirit and obstinacy, that after lying before it a long time, and suffering great loss, the infidels were at last obliged to retire. This was a very seasonable check, and prevented the Moors from harassing New Castile; so that Don Alonso had time to regulate his domestic affairs, and to put the city of Toledo into a state of defence, by repairing the walls from the church of St. Stephen to the river^l.

The very next year the Moors, with a great army, appeared again before Valentia, which was preserved by the succours sent by Don Alonso over the mountains with very great difficulty, and with such expence, as determined him to quit that place; which, lying at so great a distance from the rest of his dominions, he believed would fall, sooner or later, into the hands of the infidels: he therefore signified his intention to the Christians who were in it, and at his command they withdrew. Soon after this event, Don Alonso lost his fifth wife Donna Isabella, formerly Zayde, who was buried in the church of St. Isidore with great solemnity, leaving behind her a son, Don Sancho, who was considered as the heir apparent of all his father's extensive dominions^m: but, notwithstanding he had now an heir male, the king resolved to marry again; and Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, whom he had sent to the pope, negociated a match with the princess Beatrix, of the house of Este, very little to the satisfaction of the infanta Urraca, and her husband Don Raymond. After this match, he had the misfortune to lose a great battle against the Moors, in which, however, he did not command in person; but, notwithstanding it is acknowledged, that great numbers were slain, and many taken prisoners, yet by his prudence he had soon so formidable an army on foot, that the Moors were not able to draw any great advantage from their victory. The royal family was increased on the 1st of March, 1106, by the birth of the infant Don Alonso, son to Don Raymond, count of Galicia,

A.D. 1103.

A.D. 1105.

^k Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Pelag. Ovet. Liber Chron. Luc. Tudensis Chron. ^l Chron. Var. Antiq. ^m Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Pelag. Ovet. Liber Chron. Lucæ Tudensis Chron.

by the infanta Donna Urtaca, who was baptized in the apostolic church of St. James at Compostella. The annals of those times unanimously report, that a new and bright star was observed for thirty days together, before that in which he was brought into the world; which, in those days, was regarded as a very favourable presage, and is deservedly exploded in these; since, supposing the fact to be true, it could have no more relation to Spain than to any other country where that star was visible^r.

*Invasion of
the Almo-
varides
and the fa-
tal battle of
Ucles.*

Joseph, king of the Almoravides, thought it now high time to return into Spain, having fully achieved all that he proposed in Africa, bringing over with him, on board a numerous fleet, a much more powerful army of Mohammedans and Moors than had hitherto ever landed in that kingdom. As soon as he had incorporated them with those which he had already on foot in that country, he judged his power sufficient to undertake at once the conquest of the dominions of the king of Castile and Leon, with which view he assembled two great armies, and all the remaining princes of the Moors, to which he destined a third. Don Alonso was not a little alarmed at the news of these preparations; and, being too old to command an army in person, he sent for Don Raymond, his son-in-law, out of Galicia, who fell ill of a fever in his journey, and died upon the road; but the good old king had the satisfaction of visiting, and affording him all the consolation in his power in his last moments. He then made a progress through the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, in order to quicken the nobility in marching with their vassals to form an army in the neighbourhood of Toledo, towards which city he foresaw the enemy would not fail to advance as soon as the season would permit. He was not mistaken in his conjecture; for king Joseph, having united his troops on the frontiers, bent his route directly towards the capital. Don Alonso, in hopes that it would give fresh courage to his army, which was composed of almost all the force of his dominions, sent into the field the infant Don Sancho, though a child but of eleven years old at most, with his governor Don Garcia de Cabra; but who had the chief command does not appear. On the arrival of the infant the Christians advanced to Ucles, where they met the infidels ranged in order of battle; the dispute was very obstinate, and they fought on both sides with the utmost intrepidity, till at length the Mo-

^r Roderic Toletan Histor. Arabum. Luc. Tudensis Chronicon.
Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Chron. Var. Antiq.
hammedans

hammedans pierced into the center of the Christians, and surrounded that body of troops where the young infant was, whose horse being killed, he stood on foot, and his governor Don Garcia covered him with his buckler, fighting with incredible bravery, though he was far advanced in years, till at length he fell, and bore down his pupil with him; when the Moors massacred all that body of troops: and the army being entirely broken, gained a complete victory, no less than seven counts dying in the field^a. This fatal battle was fought on the 29th of May 1108, and was the most heavy reverse of fortune the Christians had sustained since the loss of the city of Leon; but, however, the Moors bought this victory so dearly, that they were in no condition to reap any immediate advantage from it^a. The infanta Donna Urraca, with the assistance of the bishop of Compostella, having assembled all the forces of Galicia, advanced immediately into New Castile, reassembled the scattered remains of the defeated army, and marched with so good a countenance towards the Moors, that they did not judge it convenient to venture another battle, but contented themselves with the reputation they had acquired, and retreated into their own dominions. The Christians took this opportunity of putting a strong garrison into Toledo, while the old king brought out of Castile a fresh body of troops, which enabled him to cover that city with a good army in the field^b.

The king Don Alonso was, as we may well suppose, extremely mortified to find himself in this sad situation in his declining years, and when his bodily infirmities, as well as his great age, disabled him from doing what his prudence dictated in favour of his subjects. He did not, however, omit any thing that was yet within the reach of his abilities. Guido, archbishop of Vienne in France, brother to the deceased Don Raymond, coming into Spain to see his nephew Don Alphonso, the king caused the young prince to be brought to Leon; to which city he directed all the nobility of Galicia should repair; and in his presence, as well as of the French archbishop, take an oath of fidelity to their infant sovereign, whom he appointed his sole successor^c in all his dominions, in case his

The death of Don Alphonso VI. the greatest Christian monarch in Spain.

^a Chron. Var. Antiq. ^b Mariana, Historia General de Hispania, lib. ix. Ferreras Historia de Hispania, p. v. sect. xi. Mayerne, Turquet, Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. viii. ^c Pelag. Ovetens. liber Chronicon. Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum. Luc. Tudensis Chronicon.

^c Chron. Var. Antiq.

daughter Donna Urraca should have no other male issue ; for he had, in compliance with the desires of the nobility, consented to her marriage with Don Alphonso king of Arragon and Navarre^d. He disposed the troops under the command of the several counts, who brought them into the field so judiciously on his frontiers, and gave his orders so properly for assembling a numerous army, in case the Moors should make any attempt, that they chose to direct their march into Catalonia and elsewhere, rather than attempt to purchase any more victories at so dear a rate. It does great honour to the memory of this prince, that, though for the space of eighteen months he lay in a weak and languishing condition, the civil and military affairs of his kingdom were preserved in such good order, that there neither happened any invasion from foreign enemies, or any tumult or commotion among the people ; and in his capital city of Toledo Don Alvaro Fanez, whom he had appointed governor, disposed every thing to such advantage, that the inhabitants were not under the least apprehension, though they had every day fresh advices of the increasing strength of the Moors^e. At length the king, worn out with age, care, and sickness, departed this life June the 30th, in the year of our Lord 1109, when he had enjoyed the regal dignity thirty-seven years from the time of his restoration, and forty-four from the death of his father. His sixth and last wife Donna Beatrix returned into Italy after his decease.

*Disputes
arise be-
tween the
king Alonjo
of Arragon,
and queen
Urraca.*

The demise of this prudent and potent monarch was indeed the epocha from whence might be dated the miseries of his subjects. Don Alphonso, king of Arragon and Navarre, believing it impossible to acquire kingdoms without an army, entered Castile at the head of a numerous body of troops, to support his claim of the government in right of his queen. The states quickly put an end to the troubles that this step might have occasioned, by informing him, that they were not accustomed to see their sovereign at the head of foreign troops ; and that his army therefore might be better employed in his own dominions, since there was no need of force, where the right of the queen was not at all disputed. Don Alphonso received this message with the spirit it deserved : he said, he knew not the intentions of his people when he entered Castile in arms, but that he was ready to dismiss his army, which

^d Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Pelag. Ovet. Lib. Chron. ^e Pelag. Ovet. Liber Chronic. Roderic sancti Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

he did immediately, and to rely on their loyalty which had been ever conspicuous. He found it much more easy to deal with the states than with their queen, who was so very fond of sovereignty, that she would willingly have reckoned her husband only the first of her subjects. An old Castilian nobleman, Don Pedro Assurez, the companion of her father in exile, the favourite of his whole life, and who had been intrusted with her education, took the liberty of expostulating with her, and of setting her conduct in a true light; which remonstrance provoked her to such a degree, that she banished him the court, stripped him of his employment, and confiscated his estate ^e. The king could not bear this outrage; he took Don Pedro into his immediate service, he restored him to his honours, his employments, and his estate; declaring, that whatever injury was offered to him, from whatever hand it came, he would regard it as done to himself ^f. This conduct naturally increased the disorder; which at length rose so high, that the king secured the person of his consort, and made her prisoner in the fortress of Castellar ^g, from which she was speedily delivered by some of the nobles of Castile, and began to feel great trouble of mind on account of the relation between her and her husband, for they were second cousins; so that, to quiet her conscience, she was desirous the marriage should be dissolved ^h.

In the midst of these disturbances a civil war broke out in Galicia. Don Pedro Frolaz de Traba had been charged with the education of the young infant Don Alonso by his father, and confirmed in it by his grandfather; his conduct was irreproachable; and this was the source of the war ⁱ. Some of the nobility, headed by two brothers, Don Arias Perez and Don Pedro Arias, men of a most turbulent spirit, invested the castle where the young prince was, and tearing him from the arms of the countess, Don Pedro's wife, imprisoned for a time the archbishop of Compostella, who reproved them for their rudeness ^k: but the inhabitants of that city taking arms in behalf of their prelate, they thought proper to set him at liberty, retaining still the young prince in their custody, and pretending to colour all the violence they committed, with the specious pretence of loyalty to the child they kept a pri-

A civil war breaks out in Galicia.

^e Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. ^f Pelag. Ovet. Liber Chronicon. Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum. ^g Chron. Var. Antiq. ^h Lucæ Tudensis Chron. ⁱ Pelag. Ovet. Liber Chron. Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispaniæ, lib. vi. ^k Mariana, Ferteras, Mayerne, Turquet.

soner;

soner; a sort of proceeding that put an end to the regular administration of affairs in that province, and threw all things into the utmost disorder and confusion.

*Ali Joseph,
king of the
Almoravides,
besieges To-
ledo.*

Joseph king of Morocco, and of the Almoravides in Spain, died much about the same time with Don Alphonso the Sixth, and was succeeded by his son Ali Joseph¹, who, for the sake of distinction, we shall call only Ali, and who had been for some years his father's viceroy in Spain; but at the time of his demise he was in Africa, from whence he speedily returned with a numerous army, and a potent fleet. He had no sooner landed his forces than he marched to Seville; and, having examined and given the necessary directions for repairing and augmenting this capital of his dominions, he issued his orders for a general rendezvous of all his forces at Cordova, to which city he repaired in person. Having made a general review, he concluded himself well able to accomplish what his father had only contrived. Under this persuasion, grounded probably on the present state of the Christians, he proceeded directly towards Toledo, wasting all the country with fire and sword. The city being completely invested, and no fear of disturbance from any army in the field, he proceeded vigorously in his siege; and, by the help of the best machines then in use, actually made a breach in the walls sufficiently practicable. He intended to have stormed upon the eighth; but on the seventh day of the siege, Don Alvaro Fanez, with the best part of the garrison, passed, by the help of wooden bridges, over the breach into his camp a little before break of day, levelled his works, burnt his machines, and gave his troops such an earnest of the reception they were like to expect, that the king of Morocco, finding they had no stomach to the attack, very prudently raised the siege the next day, with a resolution to insult Madrid^m.

*Fails in the
conduct of
the whole
expedition.*

There was but a small garrison in the place, but the inhabitants were very numerous, and they defended themselves so gallantly, that he was obliged to retire from thence also; but to make himself amends, he took another route into his own dominions; and, sweeping all the country before him, amassed a prodigious booty, and carried many thousands of people into slaveryⁿ. All these, together with the remains of the Christians, who still lived peaceably in his territories, he caused to be

¹ Chron. Var. Antiq. Roderic Toletan. Hist. Arabum. ^m Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

shipped on board his fleet, with which he returned to Africa; and having carried his miserable captives up to Morocco, dispersed them in the country adjoining to that capital, to replace, in some measure, the inhabitants whom he had carried to Spain ^b.

The nobility of Leon and Castile saw with inexpressible concern how low they were fallen, and how much lower they might fall; they therefore solicited the queen to consent to a reconciliation with her husband; and to this, to satisfy their importunity, she at last agreed. That it might appear an act of her own, she went to him, and was received, and they lived together again for some little time. But the coldness and contempt of Don Alphonso was too apparent to be borne by a princess of so high a spirit; and therefore the queen, believing that she had now given her nobility all the satisfaction they could expect, left him again, with a full resolution never to be reconciled to him more; a resolution which naturally increased those disorders, that were but too many and too great already ^c. The king, on the other hand, depended upon the Arragonian lords, whom he had placed as governors in some of the best towns in both the Castiles, and upon many of the Castilian nobility, who were also in his interest; for though he had conceived an implacable aversion to the queen, he was by no means willing to part with her dominions ^d.

*Quarrels
continue be-
tween the
king and
queen.*

The queen, though her affairs wore so indifferent an aspect, did not suffer her spirits to sink at all; but by her affability to all the lords of Castile, who came to pay their respects to her, and by her gracious deportment towards the commons, drew over multitudes of all ranks to her party: these at length came to entertain so good an opinion of her cause and their own force, that they summoned the Castilians, to whom the king had committed castles, to surrender them; and threatened to reduce the Arragonians by force ^e. Among the rest Don Pedro de Afurez surrendered those which the queen had taken from him, and to which he was restored by the king's favour; but as soon as he had taken this step, he went directly to Toledo, and having obtained an audience of the king, told him, that as for the fortresses they undoubtedly belonged to the queen his master's daughter, who having demanded

*Don Alon-
so, king of
Arragon,
determines
to keep Cas-
tile, Leon,
and Toledo.*

^b Lucæ Tudenſis Chron. ^c Chron. Var. Antiq. ^d Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vi. ^e Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

he had yielded them, as he conceived it his duty; but that, if his majesty considered the thing in another light, he had brought his body to answer for the offence. At first the king was in so great a rage, that, if some of his favourites had not interposed, Don Pedro's life would hardly have been safe; but, as soon as that transport of passion was over, the king embraced him, and testified the highest admiration of his loyalty and virtue. From this moment the king discerned, that his authority could no longer depend on any thing but success; and therefore, having recommended the kingdom and capital of Toledo to Don Alvaro Fanez, who had shewn himself firmly attached to his service, he marched with a small body of excellent troops directly into Castile, where he found the whole force of that kingdom assembled to impede his passage, a circumstance, which put him under a necessity of beginning the war with what had very much the appearance of a decisive battle; and as things were come to this extremity, he was a prince of too much courage to decline it; though without question he could not avoid discerning of how dangerous consequence these disputes were to the Christian cause.

*The battle
of Campo
de Espira.*

The queen's army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Sepulveda, and, upon the king's advancing towards them, a battle ensued, which was fought on the 28th of October, 1111, in a large plain called Campo de Espira. The vanguard of the queen's army was commanded by Don Pedro de Lara, which was quickly broke by the square battalion of the Arragonese infantry, commanded by the king in person; upon which Don Pedro fled to Burgos. The second line, commanded by the count Don Gomez, made a gallant and obstinate resistance; and when they were at last broken, the count had the honour to die upon the spot, covered with glory and wounds. There fell likewise many other persons of great distinction, and a great number of private men. In consequence of this victory the king became master of Burgos, Valentia, Carrion, Sahagon, and the royal city of Leon; all which he gave up to be pillaged by his soldiers, who plundered even the monastery of Sahagon, and the church of St. Isidore at Leon, the sacred dormitory of their kings; a circumstance which filled all the adjacent country with such terror, that some places in Galicia, seduced by his emissaries, declared for the king^e.

The queen, who had retired to a place of safety, published, to repair this loss, a proclamation, requiring all her subjects, capable of carrying arms, to take the field. In the mean time, however, the archbishop of Compostella, and Don Pedro Trolas de Traba, prevailed upon Pedro Arriez and his accomplices, to compromise their disputes, and to surrender the person of the young prince Don Alonso Raymond. Him the archbishop crowned with great solemnity before the high altar in the cathedral church of St. James, and quickly after carried him, at the head of the best army they could raise, to join the queen his mother; but they were attacked in their passage by the king of Arragon: and though the army was defeated, yet the archbishop found means to convey the young prince safely to the queen, who, as soon as it was in her power, retired with him back again into Galicia, where she immediately began to raise a new army; while the king of Arragon, with his victorious troops, besieged the city of Astorga, in which were the remains of the archbishop's army, who made a gallant and a long defence. The queen applied herself to count Henry of Portugal, who had married her sister, and intreated him to assist her, and the son of his friend, in this danger and distress. Count Henry advised her to march immediately to the relief of Astorga, and promised to join her with a considerable body of troops, a promise which he performed accordingly. The great lords of Asturias likewise joined her with the flower of their militia; the nobility of Castile about the same time attacked and defeated a body of Arragonese troops that were in full march to join their king; and that prince found himself in such circumstances, that he raised the siege of Astorga in the night, and retired precipitately to Carrion. The queen followed him so close, that her forces invested the city almost as soon as he entered it: in all probability he must have fallen into her hands, if the pope's legate, lately arrived in Spain, who appointed a council to be held in Palentia to judge finally of the queen's marriage, had not prevailed upon her to suffer him to retire, upon his promise to deliver up all the places in her dominions that were in his possession; a promise which, however, he absolutely refused to perform. The count Don Henry, of Portugal, had scarce the pleasure of seeing the queen in Astorga, before he died there, and was carried from thence to Braga, where he lies under a splendid tomb. Mariana seems to have ascribed his memory by mistake, in ascribing the loss of

Galicia declares for the young prince Don Alfonso Raymond.

A.D. 1112. the former battle to his deserting the queen after it began^f.

The war continued between the king and queen, of which the Moors take advantage.

The queen, Donna Urraca, finding herself deceived in her expectations, and under a necessity of having recourse to arms, in order to recover the city of Burgos, into which the king her husband had put a strong garrison, marched thither. She found this enterprize, however, embarrassed with far greater difficulties than she expected; for, on one hand, the lords of Castile were so displeased with her conduct towards Don Pedro de Lara, that they abated much of their zeal for her service; and, on the other hand, the Galicians had their suspicions likewise, arising from their affection to the young king; so that, if the archbishop of Compostella had not been indefatigable in his endeavours, the army could never have been brought before Burgos; which city soon opened its gates: the garrison, however, held out a siege of several weeks, but at length was obliged to surrender on the feast of St. John the Baptist^g. About this time the Moors made an irruption into the kingdom of Toledo, and advanced from thence towards the frontiers of Galicia; but, at the pressing instances of the queen and archbishop, a numerous army marched against them; upon which they thought it more adviseable to retire with the plunder they had acquired, than to hazard a battle against troops that would otherwise be employed in their service, that is, in weakening the king of Arragon^h.

A.D. 1113.

A council held at Palencia, in which the queen's marriage is declared void.

The queen, to put an end to these troubles, that had so long disturbed and distracted her subjects, called a general assembly of the states at Burgos; to which, at her request, resorted Don Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, and Don Diego, archbishop of Compostella. The debates in that assembly ran very high; for most of the Castilian nobility, and more especially the deputies of the city of Burgos, declared roundly for the queen's being reconciled to her husband; and, upon the archbishop of Compostella's insisting on the invalidity of the marriage, they were so exasperated, that he thought it prudent to withdraw; in a word, the assembly broke up, referring the decision of this difficult point to the council that was to be held at Palenciaⁱ. This council, held in the begin-

^f Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Luc. Tudenfis Chron. Chron. Var. Antiq. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii. Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispaniæ. Historia general de Hispania, lib. x.

^g Luc. Tudenfis Chron.

^h Roderic To-

letan. Hist. Arabum.

ⁱ Chron. Var. Antiq.

ning of the succeeding year^k, and in which the pope's legate presided, declared the marriage null; by which sentence an end was put to all the king of Arragon's pretensions; who, notwithstanding, raised by his emissaries a formidable rebellion in Galicia, which, but for the prudence and spirit of the archbishop of Compostella, might have been attended with very fatal consequences(M). About this time Don Alvaro Fanez, going on some occasion from Toledo to Segovia, an insurrection happened in the last mentioned place, in which he was unfortunately killed. He was succeeded in the government of Toledo by Don Rodrigo Nunez; whether by the appointment of the king of Arragon, or by the choice of the inhabitants, does not appear; but by that time he was well fixed in his office, the city was invested by a numerous army of infidels, under the command of Amazaldi; but the place was

A.D. 1114.

^k Card. d'Aguirre Conc. Hisp. tom. iii. p. 319.

(M) Those of the nobility, who now took up arms in Galicia, were Pedro Gudesteo, Rodrigo Nugnez, Arias Perez, and Pedro Arias; against whom the bishop of Compostella quickly marched with forces so considerable, that the malecontents thought fit to separate. Pedro Gudesteo and Rodrigo Nugnez, retired to their castles, which lay by the sea-side, and invited an English body of troops on shore, who happened to pass at this critical juncture along the coasts of Galicia, on board their own vessels, and had sent to desire leave to purchase provisions. They complied readily with this invitation; and were no sooner on shore, than they began to spoil and lay waste the country on every side. The bishop of Compostella had no sooner notice of this, than he directed some galleys, which had been built at his own expence,

to act against the Moorish pirates, and which were laid up in the port of Padron, to be equipped, and embarked on board them some of his best troops, with orders to find out and engage the English. They executed his instructions very punctually, and made themselves quickly masters of the whole squadron, including some vessels belonging to the Galician rebels, the best part of the men being on shore. At their return, the bishop purchased all their prisoners, that he might have an opportunity of setting the English at liberty; practising the like generosity upon the reduction of the castles, which very quickly followed. As for Arias Perez and Pedro Arias, they were no sooner informed of the fate of their companions, than they quitted Galicia, and retired to Don Alonso of Arragon (1).

(1) Hist. Compostel. lib. i.

so well defended, that he was obliged to retireⁱ. To make himself some amends he ravaged all the adjacent country, and Don Rodrigo Nunez, with the best part of his garriſon, attacking him in his retreat near Pulgar, in hopes of recovering the booty, were thoroughly defeated. Next year Amazaldi returned with a great army of Moors into the neighbourhood of Toledo, when Don Rodrigo Nunez had his revenge; for drawing his whole force out of the city, he gave the infidels battle in the field, and, after a long and bloody engagement, cut the greateſt part of them to pieces, and their general Amazaldi among the reſt^k.

A.D. 1115.

A.D. 1116.

Freſh troubles ariſe in Galicia, where the nobility declare for the young king.

Donna Urraca, deſirous of reducing the places that ſtill remained in the hands of the king of Arragon, went to Compoſtella, in order to procure the aſſiſtance of the Galician nobility; and conceiving ſome jealouſy of the biſhop, who had done her ſo many ſervices, would have ſeized upon his perſon, if ſhe had not been prevented by ſome of the lords who were his friends: a reconciliation was afterwards brought about, which enabled her to oblige Don Alonſo to retire into his own dominions, when he was upon the point of making a freſh irruption into Caſtile^l. To this ſingular mark of his credit with the people, and loyalty to his ſovereign, that prelate ſpeedily added another, by cauſing a ſmall ſquadron of gallies to be built and equipped at his own expence, which not only freed the coaſts of Galicia and Aſturias from the inſults of the Moorish pirates, who had pillaged and deſtroyed all the ſea-coaſts, but likewise made reprisals, by plundering their territories. Notwithſtanding all this ſervice, the queen fell out with him again to ſuch a degree, that ſhe directed his friend Don Pedro Frolaz to ſecure his perſon: inſtead of obeying this order, he gave him notice of his danger; and, after maturely weighing the many inconveniences to which they were expoſed from the mutability of this princeſs's temper, they judged it moſt expedient to put the government into the hands of her ſon, at leaſt the kingdom of Galicia, to which his right ſeemed unqueſtionable, even in the life-time of his mother. The propoſition was well received by all the nobility, and the deſign was put in execution, which occaſioned new diſturbances; for the queen aſſembled all the forces of Leon and Caſtile, and pretended to treat the biſhop and his ad-

ⁱ Roderic Toletan. Hiſt. Arabum.
Roderic Toletan. Hiſt. Arabum.
Hiſpan. lib. vii.

^k Luc. Tudenſis Chron.
^l Roderic Toletan. de Reb.

herents as rebels, notwithstanding her son was with him, and approved of all he did^m. At length, however, by the interposition of some of the principal nobility, things were compromised; when the queen had visibly the advantage, and might have treated those who adhered to her son with great severity, or at least have obliged them to abandon their countryⁿ. But as there was nothing cordial in this reconciliation, so it did not last long, both parties retaining a deep resentment of what had passed; the queen looking upon the bishop and Don Pedro Frolaz, as men who had seduced her son into a rebellion; and they regarding her as a princess besieged by flatterers, inordinately fond of power, and far from having those abilities that were necessary to govern so many kingdoms, in so critical and perilous a conjuncture.

The Moors were so tempted by these intestine disturbances, to hope the recovery of Toledo, that they scarce failed either besieging or attempting to besiege it, every year. In this we are told, that Ali sent one of his generals, whom an ancient Spanish chronicle calls Acredelia, with a numerous army, to ruin the country round about. But the Christian governor, whom the same author calls Abbacil, foreseeing the consequences of such expeditions would be distressing the place by famine, marched out with his forces, engaged and defeated the enemy, and killed their general upon the spot. The Moors, provoked at this defeat, and still anxious to avail themselves of the troubles among the Christians, speedily drew together a fresh army, and under Aben Haret, a celebrated general, took the field, and marched directly towards Toledo. They found, however, their passage speedily stopped by the governor, and the whole force of the garrison, who immediately gave them battle, and this with success not inferior to the former. The Moors were entirely vanquished, and Aben Haret, being taken prisoner, was sent to the castle of Toledo; while the governor, with his victorious army, ravaged the Moorish frontiers, and swept the places where he came so thoroughly of provisions, that it was impossible to assemble any third army there for that year, which, at that juncture, was indubitably a thing of infinite consequence to the cause of the Christians^o.

Several attempts made by the Moors against Toledo without success.

^m Chron. Var. Antiq.
deric Tolletan, Hist. Arabum.

ⁿ Luc. Tudensis Chron.

^o Ro-

*The queen
and the bi-
shop of
Compostella
in great
danger of
being burnt
in a com-
motion.*

The accommodation between Donna Urraca and those who declared for her son, was quickly violated by the queen's besieging Gomez Nunez in the castle of Turon, which he held for Don Alonso Raymond, and she was soon after besieged herself in Soberosa by Don Pedro Frolaz, at the head of the Galician army, assisted by the troops of Portugal, though that country was governed at that time by her sister Donna Theresa; but the great lords of Castile and Leon came with a potent army to deliver the queen, and effected another pacification; soon after which she returned to the royal city of Leon^p. Some new disputes arising in Galicia, the enemies of the bishop of Compostella took advantage of them, and were on the point of securing his person; for, being a moderate and an honest man, this prelate had the honour to be very heartily hated by the bigots of both parties; so that, to provide for his own security, he was obliged to retire to Leon. The queen received him with equal kindness and respect, desired him to write to those worthy men, who were his friends in Galicia, to compose these disturbances, and to put things into such a situation, as she might with safety visit her son; an accommodation, which, in a little time, was effected; and the bishop first, and the queen not long after, went to Compostella. The populace, surmising that there was a secret intention to punish them for the insults they had offered to their prelate, surprised him with the queen and the principal nobility in the cathedral, and, failing in their attempt to force it, set that noble structure on fire, crying vehemently, let the queen come out, and let the bishop and his adherents perish in the flames. The bishop, more concerned for her safety than his own, obliged the queen to quit the cathedral, which she did, and retired to the church of St. Mary, loaded, in her passage, with all the foul language that an enraged mob could bestow; and, after her departure, the bishop, not without great difficulty, made his escape in disguise. In the midst of these disorders, the inhabitants of Toledo took a very laudable resolution of recalling their natural prince; and accordingly Don Alonso Raymond made his public entry into that city 1117^q.

At this juncture there was a schism in the church of Rome; one party adhering to cardinal de Gayette, by the name of Gelasus the Second; the other supported by the

^p Luc. Tudenfis Chronicon. ^q Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. Var. Antiq. Luc. Tudenfis Chron.

emperor Henry the Fifth, to Maurice Burdin, archbishop of Braga, who assumed the name of Gregory the Eighth, but was soon after deposed, and ended his days in prison. The prelates of this age in general were certainly very extraordinary persons; for we find, that Don Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, whose gratitude to the memory of his protector had kept him firm to the interests of his family, and who therefore, while the place was in the hands of the king of Arragon, remained under a cloud, no sooner regained his own authority, than he persuaded the people to make an attempt upon the strong town of Alcala de Henares. It was in all respects very considerable, but particularly in commanding a large district of country, well fortified, and had a numerous garrison; notwithstanding which, the archbishop reduced it, and immediately put it into the king's hands, who made a grant^o of it to the archbishops of Toledo, from which place it is distant about eighteen miles.

Don Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, reduces Alcala de Henares by siege.

At the opening of the ensuing year died pope Gelasius, who was succeeded by the archbishop of Vienne, uncle of Don Alonso Raymond, by the title of Calixtus the Second^p. The queen, who at this time was upon good terms with her son, desired his assistance for recovering the places that were still held by the king of Arragon; and Don Alonso joined her with a considerable body of troops at Segovia, to which city she came with a numerous army, attended by most of the nobility of Leon, Castile, and Asturias. In a short time, however, after the king's arrival, disputes arose: for the nobility could not bear, that Don Pedro de Lara should put on airs of state and dignity in the presence both of his and their master. His insolence excited murmurs in the army; till two of the principal lords cut things short, by seizing upon the person of Don Pedro, and carrying him prisoner to the castle of Mancilla; upon which the queen, in great discontent, retired to Leon. After her departure, the king, with the forces under his command, entered upon the proper business of the campaign, and reduced most of the places that were held by the king of Arragon, while those two lords of the queen's army, who had seized Don Pedro, followed her to Leon, reduced that city, besieged her in the castle, which they constrained her to deliver up, and to be reconciled to her son^q. The new

The nobles seize Don Pedro de Lara.

^o Chron. Var. Antiq. Compottell. lib. ii.

^p Lucas Tudenf. Chron.

^q Hist.

pope, at the request of a prelate who had deserved so well by his strict adherence to his nephew, raised the see of Compostella to the rank of an archbishopric, of which dignity Don Diego Gelmirez took possession July the 25th, on the feast of St. James, in the year 1120; and in the succeeding year he held a council there, in which he presided as the pope's legate, a circumstance which gave no small offence to the archbishop of Toledo.

A.D. 1127.

His cares were, however, unsuccessful, in respect to the preservation of the public tranquillity. Some of the nobility in Galicia remaining in arms under slight pretences, but with high protestations of their fidelity to the king, Donna Urraca marched thither, with a considerable army, assembled by the assistance of the lords of her party in Castile. The archbishop of Compostella received her with all imaginable marks of duty and respect, and, in obedience to her commands, endeavoured to reduce those of the nobility who were in arms; a task which, with some difficulty, he performed^r. The queen then declared her intention to act against her sister Donna Theresa, on account of her having taken Tuy, and some other places which belonged to Galicia. The archbishop did all he could to prevent this war; but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he passed the river Minho with his forces, and the rest of the queen's army; but when Donna Theresa, after having abandoned all the places in question, was besieged by the queen in the castle of Laniosa, the archbishop was desirous of retiring with his forces into his own diocese, a step which revived the queen's old resentments against that prelate, to whom she ascribed most of the disappointments she had met with in her violent projects. She dissembled, however, her disposition for the present, and gave him leave to send back his troops; but, under pretence of relying wholly upon his advice, would not suffer him to retire from about her person. She could not, however, take her measures so secretly, but that her sister Donna Theresa gained intelligence of them, and gave notice to the archbishop of his danger, who was so much deceived by the queen's behaviour, that he considered this as an artifice to detach him from her service. He was very quickly convinced of his error: for, upon raising the siege, and the army's repassing the Minho, the queen caused this prelate and his three brothers to be arrested, and sent to different pri-

^r Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

sons*, without the king's consent, though he was in the army; and at the same time seized upon several castles and lands that belonged to the archbishopric of Compostella. The queen's politics deceived her extremely upon this occasion; she imagined, from what had formerly happened, that this measure would have been pleasing to numbers of the Galicians; whereas it proved quite otherwise. The enemies of the archbishop were only so on account of his attachment to the queen; and therefore the news of his imprisonment was no sooner divulged, than they were the loudest in their clamours; and those who would have burnt him in his church, now took up arms, or would have taken up arms, for his deliverance. It was thought more adviseable to try fair means first; therefore four prebendaries of the cathedral, and four deputies from the city of Compostella, were sent to know the reason why the queen had confined their archbishop. These met with a very ill reception. The queen went, however, in person to that city; and, on St. James's day, proceeded in pomp to the cathedral, which she found entirely hung with black. She was met at the entrance by the principal persons of the city in mourning, who very respectfully desired, that she would lay hold of this opportunity to set their archbishop at liberty: but the queen was inexorable; upon which her son Don Alonso left her, and went and encamped with his forces on the other side of the river; a separation which raised the spirits of the people, and intimidated the queen, who at length perceiving her person in danger, and that the people had seized John Diaz, in whose custody the archbishop was, she pretended suddenly to change her mind, ordered the archbishop to be released, declared she was satisfied of his innocence, and that she meant with the utmost severity to punish his accusers; but this conduct had no effect: neither the populace thanked her for the archbishop's deliverance, nor could that prelate be ever afterwards brought to trust her†. So low even princes fall, when their artifices are discovered.

The people of Galicia, supported by her son Don Alonso.

In a short time after this transaction, things were on the point of coming to an open rupture; the queen and her Castilian lords remaining in the field with one army, and the king Don Alonso, with the archbishop, Don Pedro Frolaz, and most of the nobles of Galicia, at the head of another: but, through the indefatigable pains of

A.D. 1126.

The death of Donna Urraca.

* Chron. Var. Antiq.

† Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

the prelate, a pacification was effected; and sixty lords of the queen's party bound themselves for the due performance of articles. But soon after all was in confusion again; Don Alonso, or at least the nobility about him, would have Galicia taken for a separate and independent kingdom, within which the queen should have no power; whereas the queen pretended, that her son held it in homage of her; and therefore very frequently committed therein most exorbitant acts of power. Some writers say, that, wearied out with these disputes and their consequences, Don Alonso confined her; but the contrary is much more probable. At length on the 10th of March, in the year of our Lord 1126, she died at Saldagna, not far from Carrion, of the consequences of a miscarriage, as certain historians^u allege; though there want not those^w who affirm, that, having plundered the church of St. Isidore, she died suddenly as she came out, and was buried in the royal dormitory there, among the princes her ancestors, little regretted by her subjects^x.

*Don Alonso
VII. suc-
ceeds in
Castile,
Leon, and
Asturias.*

The king Don Alonso came to Leon within two days after the death of the queen his mother, and was received with all possible testimonies of affection and loyalty by the nobility of Leon, Castile, and Asturias, who there swore allegiance to him; only the citadel of that place, being in the possession of the adherents of Don Pedro Lara, and his brother Don Roderic Gonzales, were hardy enough to refuse giving up that fortress to the king, surrounded by his nobility^y. They were quickly made sensible of their fault; for many of the great lords, and more especially the archbishop of Compostella, had brought troops; so that, with the assistance of the townsmen, the place was presently invested, and in a few days carried by storm; when the king might have put the rebels to death, as well by the rules of war, as by the laws of the land; but he contented himself with banishing them his dominions^z. He next made a progress to Zamora, in order to receive the homage of the nobility in that neighbourhood. After this ceremony, he went to Ricorado, which stands at the conflux of the rivers Orbigo and Duero, where he had a

^u Mariana Historia general de Hispana, lib. x.
erne, Turquet, Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. ix.
ras Historia de Hispana, p. v. sect. xi.

^w May-

^x Ferre-

^y Mariana Historia general de Hispana, lib. x. Ferreras Historia de Hispana, p. v. sect. xi. Mayerne, Turquet, Histoire general d'Espagne, lib. ix.

^z Luc. Tudens. Chron.

conference with his aunt Donna Theresa, and concluded a truce with her for a certain time: he afterwards returned to Zamora, to meet such of the Galician and Castilian nobility as had not hitherto sworn allegiance^a. But some there were, who, hardened by that spirit of anarchy that prevailed during the late troubles, absolutely refused to acknowledge him for their prince. These were Don Pedro Gonzales de Lara, and his brother Don Roderic, who kept, with their adherents, in the mountains of Santillana; Don Ximenes-Iniquez, who held the town now called Valentia; Don Juan and Don Arias Perez in Galicia, where they had seized Castro, Luparia, de Pena, de Cornaria, and other places.

There were, besides some much more considerable places, that still held for the king of Arragon; such as Carrion, Burgos, Villa Franca, among the mountains of Occa and Najara. But as soon as the king's accession was published, most of them opened their gates; and the people of Burgos, particularly, compelled the king of Arragon's governor to retire into the citadel, which they reduced, and then put both the city and fortrefs into the king's hands^b. In Galicia the archbishop of Compostella humbled Arias Perez, though not without effusion of blood. Don Ximenes was constrained to surrender Valentia; so that, before the end of the year, the king found himself in full possession of all the dominions of his grandfather, except some few districts on the frontiers of Old Castile, which, however, troubled him more than all the rest, as the king of Arragon had some colour of title to them, which he appeared determined to maintain by his sword. In the beginning of the succeeding year he marched with a numerous army, resolved to recover as much as possible, or at least to protect what was still left: the king of Castile and Leon advanced towards him with the flower of both nations, and surrounded by the principal nobility and prelates of his dominions. When the armies drew near each other, neither of those princes discovered any great eagerness to fight. The king of Castile spoke very respectfully of his antagonist, and the king of Arragon could not help having a tenderness for a prince he had been accustomed to call his son. The prelates and nobility on both sides saw this disposition with great satisfaction; and the king of Arragon having been

*Concludes a
peace with
Don Alon-
so.*

A.D. 1127.

^a Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Imperat.

^b Chron. Adef.

A.D. 1127.

prevailed upon to send a message, importing, that in forty days he would order all the places in dispute to be evacuated, Don Alonso Raymond demanded a personal interview, where all their differences were amicably determined, and the two kings parted perfectly good friends ^c.

While the king Don Alonso Raymond was at a distance from the frontiers of Galicia, Donna Theresa, who made no doubt that the war in Arragon would find him full employment, caused the troops of Portugal to pass the Minho, in hopes of recovering Tuy, to which she pretended a right. Don Alonso had no sooner notice of this motion than he marched thither with the utmost diligence; and having obliged the enemy to repass the river, followed them into Portugal, where he began to lay the country waste with fire and sword; but at length, through the persuasions of the archbishop of Compostella, who accompanied him, he was prevailed upon to listen to an accommodation, and things were speedily adjusted between him and his aunt ^d. This peace was quickly followed by an alteration of government in that country, where the people were extremely dissatisfied with Donna Theresa's administration, and her too great regard for Don Ferdinand Perez, the son of Don Pedro Frolaz. They therefore proposed to Don Alonso Henriquez, her son, that, deposing his mother, he should take the government into his own hands; to which proposal that high-spirited young prince readily assented, and caused himself immediately to be proclaimed sovereign of Portugal ^e. His mother, however, who was not of a humour to part with her right so easily, and who had a good body of troops, under the command of her favourite, marched directly to reduce the prince and his adherents; but having the misfortune to lose a battle, and being soon after obliged to surrender a fortress, into which she had fled for shelter, she was constrained to leave the administration in the hands of her son ^f; and Don Ferdinand Perez he retired into Galicia.

A.D. 1128.

Fresh troubles in Castile.

Don Alonso, king of Leon, having at this time peace on every side, and being full two and twenty years of age, thought it time to provide for the succession by a

^c Rod. Tol. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. Adef. Imperat.
^d Luc. Tudens. Chron. ^e Mariana Historia general de Hispania, lib. x. Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet.
^f Rod. Tol. de Reb. Hispana, lib. vi.

prudent marriage. With this view he cast his eyes upon Donna Berengara, the daughter of Don Raymond, count of Barcelona, a young princess of great beauty and distinguished merit; which marriage was concluded by the interposition of the king of Arragon, to the great satisfaction of all parties^g. The year following he held a council^h at Valentia, in which Don Raymond, who succeeded Don Bernard in the archbishopric of Toledo, presided; and in which many wholesome canons were made. Soon after this occasion, the king of Arragon, who had not been very punctual in fulfilling his promise, formed some pretensions upon Medina Cœli and Moran, the latter of which he besieged; but the king of Leon marching with a numerous army to its relief, the king of Arragon raised the siege, and retired into his own dominions. The appearance of this war raised another rebellion; for Don Pedro, count de Lara, and his brothers, attempted to engage the city of Valentia in a revolt, and not succeeding in that design, fortified several places in the mountains of Santillana. The king followed them hither sooner than they expected, invested the fort where Don Roderic Gonzales was, took it by storm, and made Don Roderic prisoner, who, knowing he deserved no mercy, did not expect it; the king, however, having degraded and stripped him of his states, gave him his life and liberty, but banished him his dominions; and not long after Don Pedro died of infirmities and a broken heart. His brother was no sooner informed of this event, than he returned privately into Castile, threw himself at the king's feet, and desired leave to live obscurely in his own country, assuring him, that he had not in his dominions a more faithful subject. The king, touched with his repentance and humility, restored him to his honours, his estates, and his employments, which he more than merited by his future services. The king perceiving that his forbearance would never procure the places that were still in the hands of the king of Arragon, took the advantage of that monarch's absence in France, to reduce them by force; but he did not offer any insult to that prince's frontiers, or to his subjects.

A.D. 1130.

All this time a prædatory war was carried on between the Christians in the kingdom of Toledo, and the Moors subject to the king of Seville; in which Don Roderic

*The gallant
behaviour
of Don Ro-
deric Gon-
zales.*

^g Chron. Adef. Imperat. Mariana, Ferreras.
Var. Antiq.

^h Chron.

Gonzales, now restored to the king's favour, had his share ; and, though he behaved very bravely, had the misfortune to be defeated ; but, upon the arrival of Tefsin Ben Ali king of Morocco, things began to have a more serious aspect ; for he privately issued his orders to his principal officers, to assemble a numerous army in the plain of Lucena, on the side of Cordova, looking towards Toledo, intending to have destroyed all the towns in the neighbourhood of that city. In the mean time the Christians vexed at their late defeat, formed a body of a thousand excellent horse, and three or four thousand foot, passed the Tagus on the side of Talavera, and after that, the Guadiana and Sierra Morena, and at length threw themselves into the territory of Cordova, with no other intent than to plunder, and make a hasty retreat. There they received the first intelligence of the king of Morocco's being on the other side of the city with a large army ; upon which, giving themselves over for lost, they took a sudden and generous resolution. After a short repose, they began their march in the afternoon, continued it all night, and, before break of day, fell into the Moorish camp, where they made a horrible carnage ; for the troops having not the least expectation of an enemy, more especially on that side, and, being attacked in the night, were so thunderstruck, that they could make no resistance : the king himself wounded in the thigh got on horseback, and fled to Cordova, to which place as many followed him as escaped : the victorious Christians plundered the camp, mounted all their infantry on horseback, and, with immense riches, returned in triumph to Toledoⁱ.

A.D. 1131.

An insurrection in Asturias, a war in Galicia, and an irruption of the Moors.

The next year afforded the king of Castile and Leon troubles sufficient to exercise his courage and conduct. In the spring a rebellion broke out in the Asturias, at the head of which were the counts Don Gonzales Pelaez and Don Roderic Gomez : he marched immediately thither, and had the good fortune to make Don Roderic prisoner, whom he degraded from his honours and banished ; but Don Gonzales, retiring into the city of Tudela, made there a long and vigorous defence ; but, finding it impossible to escape, he submitted to the king's mercy, who pardoned him freely. Nevertheless, by that time he returned to Leon, he received intelligence that he had revolted again, and had made himself master of several

ⁱ Rod. Tol. Hist. Arabum. Chron. Var. Antiq.

strong places ^k. His attention to this misfortune was called off by a greater, which was the invasion of Galicia, by Don Alonso of Portugal. He was therefore obliged to march thither with his army, where he not only expelled the Portuguese, but took from them the country of Limmia^l. While he was thus employed, advice was brought him, that the king of Morocco was on the point of invading the kingdom of Toledo with a numerous army; upon which he declared Don Roderic Gonzales governor of that city and kingdom. That nobleman raised a considerable body of forces; and having secured the capital, and heard that his master was advancing towards the king of Morocco, he threw himself into the kingdom of Seville, where he had the good fortune to defeat the Moors in a general engagement. Having ravaged the country to the very gates of Seville, he returned with his victorious army laden with plunder, and driving with them a multitude of slaves in triumph to Toledo. The king of Morocco, on the approach of Don Alonso, after he had spoiled the open country, and taken and ruined some places of strength, thought proper to retire into his own dominions; where, meeting with a small body of Christians returning from an expedition, he surrounded them in the night, and next day cut most of them in pieces.

A.D. 1132.

The Moorish monarch Texefin Ben Ali, bearing still in his mind the importance of Toledo, and that the recovery of this place was absolutely necessary to restore the credit or power of his nation, resolved to make yet another attempt, with an army more numerous than any he had before employed; but the king of Castile and Leon, being as early in the field as he, marched directly towards that city, which the Moors had scarce time to invest. They immediately raised the siege, and withdrew into their own country^m. Don Alonso, having reviewed the garrison of Toledo, and considering that the city could be in no danger while they were in the enemy's country, resolved to proceed forthwith into the territory of Cordova, by one passage, while Don Roderic, with the troops under his command, did the same by another, appointing the castle of Gallelo for the place of junction. There the armies being united, the king advanced into the

Don Alonso's glorious expedition.

^k Chron. Adef. Imperat. Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

Tol. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

^l Rod. Tol. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

A.D. 1133. neighbourhood of Cordova, wasting all the country before him, destroying their harvest, cutting down their fruit trees, tearing up their olives by the roots, carrying off their cattle, burning their villages, ruining their mosques, killing their priests, and driving their people into slavery. He advanced in this manner to Seville, and even to the sea coast: in his return, with an immense booty, he met the van-guard of the Moorish army; but being at the head of his own, composed of Castilian cavalry, he charged them so vigorously, and with such success, that the gross of the army thought proper to retire into Seville: so that without any farther interruption he returned in triumph into his own dominions, and at Tavera dismissed his troopsⁿ.

The brave old king of Arragon was far from being so fortunate; his army being defeated by the infidels, and himself killed^o before Fraga. As he died without heirs of his body, great disturbances ensued; the people of Arragon electing his brother Don Ramiro, though a monk, and the people of Navarre choosing Don Garcia Ramirez, a descendent from their ancient princes, for their king. In the midst of these confusions, Don Alonso marched with a numerous army towards Rioja, where the inhabitants of Najara and Callahorra opened their gates to him, as did all the places of any consequence on the south of the Ebro, till he came to Saragossa, where he was met by Don Ramiro, king of Arragon, and the chief prelates and nobility of his dominions, to whom Don Alonso declared, that it was not through any motive of ambition, or with any views of conquest, that he came thither with his troops, but purely to protect them from the infidels. While he remained here, his brother-in-law, count Raymond of Barcelona, and his cousin Don Alonso of Thoulouse, came and did him homage as his vassals. The king of Arragon, with the consent of his prelates and peers, yielded to him the city of Saragossa; and the bishops having, in great ceremony, bestowed upon him their benedictions in the church of our Lady of the Pillar, he returned with his army into his own dominions. The new king of Navarre met him in his passage, and, being desirous to obtain his protection, did him voluntary homage; then he proceeded to Leon to keep his Whitsuntide, at which season he proposed to solemnize his coro-

ⁿ Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Chron. Adef. Imperat.
Var. Antiq.

^o Chron.
nation.

nation. There were present together at this high feast the king and queen of Castile, the Infanta Donna Sancha, the king's sister, Don Garcia, king of Navarre, with all the prelates, abbès, counts, and great lords of the kingdom. They met the first day in the cathedral church of that city, where they consulted of ecclesiastical affairs only, and of the means of restoring ecclesiastical discipline. The day following it was resolved to proclaim the king Don Alonso emperor; and, accordingly, a deputation was sent to bring him from his palace to the church, where Don Raymond, archbishop of Toledo, assisted by the bishops, abbots, and clergy, waited for him. As soon as he entered, the imperial mantle was thrown upon his shoulders, he was conducted up to the high altar, where, the crown being placed upon his head, and the scepter in his hand, supported on the right by Don Garcia, king of Navarre, and on the left by Don Arias, bishop of Leon, the clergy sung a solemn Te Deum; after which followed divine service; and, as soon as this was over, he was proclaimed emperor, all the assistants crying out with a loud voice, Long live his imperial majesty Don Alonso. This ceremony concluded, the emperor, with all who were present, returned to his palace, where a sumptuous feast was prepared.

We might reasonably, from the number of his vassals, and the good-will expressed to him on all sides, more especially in regard to the last mentioned action, conclude, that no prince had less to fear from his Christian neighbours: but such is the nature of men, and too frequently of princes, that they oppress those that are weaker, and envy such as are stronger. Upon this principle it was that Don Garcia Ramirez, king of Navarre, and Don Alonso Enriquez, sovereign of Portugal, entered into a league against the emperor; the cause of which was, that the former was desirous of recovering the country of Rioja, and the latter was unwilling to render homage to the emperor for his dominions, by whom it was required. In virtue of this league, Don Alonso made an irruption into Galicia, where he made himself master of Tuy, and some other places, partly by force and partly by corrupting the governors, who were intrusted with Turon and Limmia. The emperor sent an army into Galicia, commanded

The monarchs of Navarre and Portugal enter into a league against the emperor.

† Mariana Historia general de Hispania, lib. x. Ferreras Historia de Hispania, par. v. sect. xi. Mayerne, Turquet, Histoire General d'Espagne, liv. ix.

by some of the prime nobility, to expel the enemy, but they were unfortunately defeated. As for the king of Navarre, the emperor was no sooner informed of his behaviour, than he entered his dominions in person, at the head of a numerous army, and wasted his country, without being able to bring him to battle ^q. In this expedition he had a conference with the king of Arragon, to whom he restored the city of Saragossa, upon condition that he should hold it as his feudatory, and do him homage ^r.

A.D. 1137.

*Don Alonso
Enriquez
of Portugal
demands
peace of the
emperor.*

About this time the emperor, upon some recollection of old distaste, dismissed Don Roderic Gonçales from his employments^s, who thereupon went to the Holy Land, and appointed Don Frederic Fernandez to the government of Toledo in his stead; who, at the first entrance into his government, had the good fortune not only to make a successful inroad into the territory of Cordova, but likewise to defeat the king Texefin Ben Ali, who attacked him in his return to Toledo ^t. Next year the emperor went in person against the Portuguese, and sent three of his principal nobility, with a numerous army, to make head against the king of Navarre. As his army was more powerful than that of his antagonist, he entered the kingdom of Portugal, and wasted the country with fire and sword ^u. On the other hand, Don Alonso Enriquez, who acted on the defensive, being extremely chagrined to see his dominions ruined, and his subjects oppressed, sought, with the utmost diligence, how he might be revenged. Perceiving that Don Ramiro, who commanded a great detachment of the emperor's army, was at too great a distance to be succoured, he threw himself and his forces between him and the emperor, and, attacking him with great fury, destroyed most of his troops, and made him prisoner ^v. This check served only to irritate the emperor, who endeavoured to force his cousin Don Alonso to a battle. This prince, upon intelligence received, that the Moors had made an irruption on the other side of Portugal, was prevailed upon by his nobility to send a deputation to the emperor, who received them very obligingly; telling the ambassadors there would not be much difficulty in making a peace; towards which there required no more than restoring the places and setting the prisoners at liberty taken on both sides. These terms being complied with,

^q Lucæ Tudenfis Chron.

^r Chron. Adefons Imperat.

^s Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

^t Roderic To-

letan Hist. Arabum.

^u Chron. Var. Antiq.

^v Lucæ

Tudenfis Chron.

the emperor had an interview with his cousin, and they parted such good friends, that Don Alonso Enriquez thought proper to order the counts Don Gomez Nugnez and Don Rodrigo Velloso, who had given rise to the war, by betraying their master, to quit his dominions. The former retired into France, and became a monk; as for the second, he went to the emperor, and expressed so much sorrow for his offence, that he forgave him, and restored him to his employments^x. Don Roderic Fernandez made another successful expedition against the Moors this year; and the emperor's brother-in-law, Don Raymond, obtaining the crown of Arragon by the marriage of the heiress, prevailed upon the emperor to restore the places he had taken from that kingdom^y.

The war on the side of Toledo continued with pretty equal fortune on both sides; but the emperor, finding himself at ease from his neighbours, resolved to make a vigorous effort with all his forces against the infidels, by entering Andalusia with a numerous army. A considerable detachment having passed the river without the emperor's leave, out of a desire to pillage, there fell so heavy a rain in the night, that they found the stream altogether impassable, and the very next day they were surrounded and cut in pieces by the enemy^z. This accident so disgusted the emperor, that he returned into his own dominions, resolving to conclude the campaign with reducing Coria, a place of importance, which was in the hands of the Moors. He besieged it accordingly; but the place being very well defended, and Don Roderic Martinez, governor of Leon, one of the emperor's principal generals, being killed upon the spot, the emperor caused the siege to be raised. Having bestowed upon Don Osorio, the son of Don Roderic, his father's employments, he returned to Leon^a, by no means pleased with the operations of the year, and resolved to employ the winter in preparing for a new expedition in the spring. To this he was not a little excited, by having advice, that Texefin Ben Ali had caused the best part of the Christians, inhabiting in his dominions, to be transported to Africa, where he employed them as soldiers, being well acquainted with their valour, and having no reason to distrust their fidelity, when fighting against as well as for infidels.

The emperor turns his arms upon the Moors.

^x Chron. Adef. Imperat.
Roderic. Toletan Hist. Arabum.

^y Chron. Var. Antiq.
^a Lucæ Tudenſis Chronicon.

Roderic Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

A.D. 1138.

This intelligence afflicted the emperor exceedingly ; who knew well enough, that the principal motive to this ill usage was the inclination they had shewn of becoming his subjects. He took pains, therefore, to settle all disputes with his neighbours, and even to terminate such as had broke out between themselves ; from a persuasion, that when they had no other quarrel on their hands, they would naturally employ their arms against the Moors ; and that, whether designed or not, these would be in effect so many diversions in his favour. His scheme, as it was well laid, was prudently and happily executed ; so that in the spring he found himself at full liberty to pursue the plan of operation he had laid down, without any apprehension of being compelled by new disturbances to alter his measures. He certainly reasoned very right upon this head ; and if he could have prevailed upon the sovereigns of Navarre, Arragon, and Portugal, to adopt the same principles, and pursue them steadily, the Moors would have been much sooner driven out of Spain than they were.

He determines to reduce the castle of Oreja.

The infidels had a very strong fortress at Oreja, which lay to the east of Toledo, from whence they made frequent irruptions into the territories of that city ; and the year before, the Christians, not without great difficulty, had erected the castle of Azeca, in order to be a check upon this place ; but it seems this did not prove so effectual a remedy as the nature of the case required : the emperor, therefore, resolved to open the campaign with the reduction of Oreja, that his subjects might be once for all delivered from this thorn in their sides. Accordingly, Don Roderic Fernandez invested it with the forces under his command, in the month of April, and the emperor joined him soon after with a very numerous and well appointed army. The alcaide of Oreja was Ali, esteemed the best officer in the Moorish service ; he had a very powerful garrison, and the place was well supplied with every thing necessary ; so that, as his countrymen expected, he made a very brave and well conducted defence. At length he gave notice to the alcaides of Cordova and Seville, that the out-works were ruined, his garrison much diminished, his magazines almost exhausted, and that, therefore, they must send him an effectual and speedy relief, if they expected he should maintain the place. The alcaides began to amass provisions, and to raise forces, at the same time that they gave intelligence to Texefin Ben Ali, who was at Morocco, of the situation things

things were in, and the apprehensions they were under; upon which he sent over a fresh body of troops, and ordered them to leave nothing untried to force the emperor to raise the siege. Upon the junction of their forces, the alcaides found themselves at the head of thirty thousand good troops, with a vast train of waggons, laden with provisions and other necessaries. They resolved to march directly towards Oreja, and were so confident of success, that they sent instructions to Ali to make a vigorous sally upon the Christians when they should begin to raise the siege ^b. The emperor, who had perfect intelligence of all their measures, determined to wait for them, and to give them battle, if they persisted in their design, or to suffer them to besiege Toledo, if they proposed by that method to divert him from his enterprize.

In their march, the Moors took a small fort or two, and at length insulted the castle of Azeca, where the empress lay with the ladies of her court ^c. She sent a message to the alcaides, that the emperor waited for them at Oreja, which was the proper place for men of their birth and breeding to signalize themselves, and that little honour was to be got by disturbing a number of helpless women ^d. The Moorish generals excused themselves for their ignorance, and desired to have the honour of paying their respects to her imperial majesty. The empress, to gratify them, appeared upon the ramparts with all her ladies, richly dressed; and the alcaides, at the head of their troops, in order of battle, having paid her their military salute, retired without giving her any farther disturbance. They tried every method they could devise to draw the emperor out of his lines, or to force a passage for their succours, but to no purpose. At least Ali sent to the emperor, and offered to surrender, if he was not relieved in a month, upon condition that his garrison marched out with the honours of war, and was escorted safely to Calatrava. The emperor accepted the proposal, and gave him leave to send to the king his master, who returned for answer, that he might surrender when he would, for that it was not in his power to relieve him. When they came to march out, he and his garrison were perfect skeletons; the emperor received them very kindly, entertained Ali at his own expence, and ordered the garrison to be distri-

*Reduces it
after an
obstinate
resistance.*

^b Lucæ Tudenfis Chron. Chron. Adefons Imperat. ^c Mariana Historia General de Hispana, lib. x. Ferreas Historia de Hispana, par. v. sect. xi. ^d Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. Adefons Imperat.

buted through the camp. The alcaide expressed his surprise, and desired he might march to Calatrava. The emperor bid him be in no pain, that the articles should be punctually executed, but that he could not part with so many brave men in such a condition ; and, after having feasted them for a month, he sent them back—very well satisfied with their entertainment. The fortress of Oreja was surrendered in the month of October ; and, after the castle was thoroughly repaired, and a good garrison put into it, the emperor marched in triumph to Toledo.

The king of Navarre defends himself against the emperor and the king of Arragon.

Raymond, prince of Arragon, and count of Barcelona, relying on his near relation to the emperor, endeavoured to engage him in a league against the king of Navarre, against whom the emperor wanted not some just causes of complaint ; and, therefore, what the prince of Arragon desired was easily brought about, who made no question now that he should be able to reunite the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon, giving some places that lay convenient to the emperor for his assistance. But Don Garcia very judiciously set on foot a negotiation with the young king of Portugal, by which he was brought to discern how great his danger must be by any accession of power to the emperor ; a consideration which engaged him to enter into a defensive alliance with Don Garcia. As soon, therefore, as the season would permit, the emperor and the prince of Arragon took the field ; Don Garcia was sensible, that his forces were by no means sufficient to act against those of the two princes joined together ; from whence he very wisely concluded, that it was his business to fight them separately, or rather to fight the weakest. Accordingly, having put a strong garrison into Pampeluna, he left the rest of his dominions to the emperor's mercy, marching with the best body of troops he could assemble against the prince of Arragon. The emperor, meeting with no resistance at Navarre, advanced to Pampeluna, and besieged it ; but the place was scarce invested, before he had the news of Don Garcia's having defeated the prince of Arragon^e ; a circumstance that induced him to raise the siege to give battle to the victorious army. Don Garcia, however, with his usual prudence, quitted the field, and threw his troops into the adjacent fortresses ; upon which the emperor saw himself obliged to retire into his own dominions, and to defer the prose-

^e Lucæ Tudensis Chron, Ferreras Hist. de Hispania, par. v. sect. xi.

cution of the war till the next season ^f. In the mean time Don Garcia took pains to recruit and strengthen his army in such a manner, that he quickly found it in his power to give the emperor battle; but upon that monarch's entering his dominions, the nobility and prelates on both sides interposed so effectually, that a peace was concluded^g. The emperor's eldest son, Don Sancho, espoused the infanta Donna Blanca, daughter to the king of Navarre; and, as this princess was very young, she was sent to be educated at the court of Castile ^h. The king of Portugal, who had been rudely handled in his invasion of Galicia, judged it expedient to make peace likewise. Thus, the ambitious scheme of the prince of Arragon was entirely defeated, and the peace of the Christians in Spain restored.

A.D. 1140.

The war with the Moors continued all this time without intermission. The alcaides, Aben Azuel, of Cordova, and Aben Ceta, of Seville, having united their forces, resolved to undertake an expedition of importance; the consequences of which might prove more favourable to their nation than those prædatory excursions that were commonly the business of their summers. Accordingly, having taken all the precautions that they thought necessary, and assembled the utmost force of their respective governments, they directed their march, with as much secrecy as possible, towards the fortress of Mora, between the rivers Guadiana and Tayo, and at no great distance from Toledo; a place of infinite importance, as it covered the Christian frontier on one side, and opened a passage into the Moorish territories on the other; where the Christian governor, Muna Alonso, through an inexcusable indolence, was so ill provided, that the place was easily surprised, and himself, with some difficulty, made his escape to Toledo. The Moors instantly furnished it with all things necessary, and a numerous garrison; and having recommended the support of it to the alcaide of Calatrava, to whom it served as a barrier, returned home in triumph. The emperor was very much affected by this loss; he therefore sent immediate orders to build a new fortress over-against that of Mora, and to place in it a good garrison, under the command of Don Martin Fernandez, to which new castle they gave the name of Piedra Negra,

The Moors take the fortress of Mora.

^f Chron. Var. Antiq. lib. vii.

^g Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan.

^h Mariana Historia General de Hispana, lib. x. Ferreras Historia de Hispana, par. v. sect. xi.

A.D. 1141. or the Black Stone. As for Mula Alonso he was so much ashamed of his late disgrace, that, putting himself at the head of such forces as his friends were content to furnish him with, he made repeated inroads, in order to recover his reputation; and the emperor, who was naturally of a mild disposition, did not send for him to reprimand him, as he expected for so capital an omission, but willingly allowed him leisure to repair his fortune¹.

Coria recovered from the Moors by the emperor.

As the Moors had lately received great reinforcements, and seemed to threaten some expedition of importance, the emperor, being first well apprised of the strength of his frontiers, ordered Don Roderic Fernandez to make an excursion from Toledo, with a good body of troops that were under his own command. This nobleman suddenly invested Coria, which hitherto had defended itself against all attempts by the strength of its situation, and the care taken to keep the garrison always complete, and in good order. It was for this reason, perhaps, that the Moors were less alarmed than otherwise they would have been at the news of this siege, which the emperor prosecuted with great judgment; for, having made a breach on one side of the place, and finding the enemy numerous, and bent upon an obstinate defence, he remained quiet till famine had brought the Moors so low, that they offered to surrender in case they were not relieved in thirty days; a proposal to which he assented. But the governor of Toledo, being informed of the situation that things were in, made his irruption just at this juncture, which put it out of the power of the alcaydes of Cordova and Seville to succour the place; which, at the close therefore of the thirty days, surrendered. The emperor caused the breach to be immediately repaired, filled the magazines with provisions of all sorts, and, leaving a strong garrison, returned to Salamanca; then sending for Muna Alonso commended his services highly, and declared him lieutenant to Don Roderic Fernandez in the government of the city and kingdom of Toledo, rewarding his good, and passing by the ill consequences that had attended his imprudent behaviour.

A.D. 1142.

Irruption into the Moors territories.

This promotion inspired Don Muna Alonso with so warm a desire of signalizing his gratitude, as well as his courage, that, on the 1st of March, in the ensuing year, he made an incursion, with nine hundred horse and a thousand foot, into the territory of Cordova, where his

¹Roderic Toletan. Hist. Arabum. Lucæ Tudensis Chron.

troops acquired a great booty. But the alcaýdes, Aben Azuel and Aben Ceta, intending an expedition of the same kind, had just joined their forces, when they had intelligence of Don Muna Alonso's retreat, whom they followed with such diligence, that they quickly came up with him, and surrounded his troops, laden with booty, with forces far superior to those which he commanded. Don Muna dividing his forces into two battalions, began the fight with great courage, and persevered with such intrepidity, that the Moors were not only beaten, but both the alcaýdes slain, and their heads carried in triumph to Toledo. After they had for some time been placed on the palace, the empress caused them to be taken down, and sent to Cordova in a silver box, that they might be restored to their wives, in remembrance of the civility she had received from those alcaýdes^k.

The emperor, having assembled a numerous army, and being on the point of making an irruption into the enemies country, sent orders to Muna Alonso and to Martin Fernandez to throw themselves, with a strong corps of troops, into the fortress of Piedra Negra, with strict injunctions to cover his own territory from the incursions of the enemy, and to hinder them from making any additions to the castle of Mora. On the other hand, Texefin Ben Ali, monarch of the Moors in Africa and Spain, had sent express orders for providing the fortress of Mora with every thing necessary, and for augmenting the works of that place; with the performance of which service, his viceroy charged Farax Adali, alcaýde of Calatrava, who, after making all the preparations necessary for that purpose, marched towards Mora with a numerous body of troops. Muna Alonso, in pursuance of the emperor's instructions, issued with a small troop of horse from the fortress of Piedra Negra to scour the country, and by accident picked up a straggling Moor, who gave him intelligence of the alcaýde's approach. Upon this, advancing to an eminence, he met the van of the Moorish troops, and charged them so furiously, that he drove them back in confusion upon their main body; of which, when he had taken view, he returned to the fortress to consult with his colleague. On his report, Martin Fernandez proposed marching out and meeting them in the field; to which proposal Muna Alonso readily agreed. When they had proceeded as far as the walls of Agudor, they found the Moors drawn up in good order, whom they attacked with

*Martin
Fernandez
blocks up
the Moors
in the castle
of Piedra
Negra.*

^k Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum. Chron. Adefons Imperat.

great spirit, and were received with much firmness. The dispute was sharp, and by no means decisive, both parties finding it requisite to retire in order to gain a little repose. But Muna Alonso, perceiving that his colleague was wounded, advised him to retire to Piedra Negra, with such as were in the same condition, or had lost their horses, to take the necessary measures for the security of the place; while he, with the remainder of their forces, should endeavour to give a check to the Moors, in case they attempted to attack it by surprise ¹.

A.D. 1143.

Is killed after a gallant defence by the infidels.

Farax Adali, having received a reinforcement, advanced towards the Christians; who, perceiving their great inequality in number, marched to an eminence, called Pegna de el Zeirbo, where they might have some advantage of ground. The Moors quickly invested them, and, after harrassing them with distant attacks, at length charged them on all sides with such fury, that, being already weakened and fatigued, they were quickly broken and cut to pieces; their gallant leader having been slain at the beginning of the general attack. The alcaide, as soon as his body was found, caused his head, his left arm, and his right leg, to be cut off, and sent to the widow of Aben Azuel at Cordova, who was to transmit them to the widow of Aben-Ceta at Seville, by whom they were to be conducted to the king of Morocco: the rest of the dismembered body he restored to the Christians; who, with sorrowful solemnity, caused it to be buried at Toledo. The emperor received these unwelcome tidings at Talavera, to which city he was returned after a glorious campaign; which, however, did not console him for the loss of this gallant commander, which he resolved to revenge. With this view, he gave orders that all his forces should assemble early in the spring ^m.

The king of Navarre marries Donna Uraca.

At the time Don Alonso deliberated on the proper object of this expedition, his subjects complained to him so loudly of the disturbance given them by the Moorish garrison in the fortress of Mora, that he determined to pluck that thorn from their sides before he made an irruption into the enemy's country. Having accordingly invested the place, he proceeded to the siege in form; but the garrison, perceiving little or no hopes of relief, thought proper, by an early capitulation, to procure for themselves the best terms they could; by which means this place came again into the hands of the Christians ⁿ. It was, in

¹ Annal. Tol.
Hist. Arabum.

^m Chron. Adef. Imperat.

ⁿ Rod. Tol.

all probability, some intelligence that the emperor received during the time he was in camp before Mora, which induced him to alter his plan, and to assemble all the forces of Castile and Leon towards the middle of the month of May, in the neighbourhood of Najara, with a full resolution to reduce the monarch of Navarre so low, that it should not be in his power to disturb him, and his brother the prince of Arragon in haste. But when he was on the point of entering that king's dominions, Don Garcia sent some of his prelates and nobility to inform him of his great respect for his person, his sincere desire to live with him upon good terms for the future, and his inclination to marry Donna Urraca, the emperor's natural daughter °. This proposition disarmed the emperor, who, as he had nothing in view but to be quiet on that side, readily granted all he asked; and, having dismissed his troops, returned to Leon; to which city came the empress Donna Berengara, with most of the nobility of the two kingdoms of Castile and Leon; thither also came the princess Donna Sancha, the emperor's sister, bringing with her her beautiful niece Donna Urraca; and soon after arrived Don Garcia, attended by the flower of his nobility P. The marriage was celebrated with all imaginable pomp and magnificence, on the 24th of June; the emperor gave his daughter a large sum of money, made very rich presents to the king of Navarre and his nobility at their departure, and sent several persons of the first quality to accompany them to Pampeluna. After these rejoicings, the emperor returned to Toledo; and, in the month of September, made an irruption with all his forces into the Moorish territories, ravaged the country as far as Granada and the sea coast, and returned with an immense booty, and a prodigious number of slaves, to his capital, in the beginning of winter.

A.D. 1144.

The affairs of the Moors at this time were in the utmost confusion. Texusin Ben Ali found himself so distressed in Africa, that instead of yielding his subjects in Spain any assistance, he was continually requiring such supplies from thence as exhausted them; insomuch that the Spanish Moors determined at length to throw off the yoke, and to render themselves once more independent. It was with this view that they demanded of the emperor Don Alfonso, Zafadola his vassal, on account of his being descended

Civil wars and great revolutions amongst the Moors settled in Spain.

° Cod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispana, lib. vii. Chron. Adef. Imperat.
P Luc. Tudens. Chron.

from their ancient kings of Cordova, to whom they joined Mohammed, who was sprung from the same blood, and put them in possession of a great part of the country^q; while the viceroy, Aben-Gama, could only preserve the castle of Cordova, the city of Seville, and two or three other places. Soon after this event, one Haben Fandi, a pretended saint, seized Cordova and Calatrava; while Jaen, Granada, and Mercia, remained to Zafadola; Seville, and the rest of Andalusia, to Aben Gama; Mortala, Valentia, Merida, and Tortosa, to Mohammed^r. Zafadola, not contented with his share, requested assistance from the emperor, who sent three of his generals with a considerable body of forces to his aid, with whom, after they had done him much service, he quarrelled, and attacked them with his Moorish troops, but was quickly beaten and taken prisoner; and the soldiers, not being able to agree whose prisoner he was, killed him to put an end to the dispute. Aben Gama took this opportunity to recover Cordova, and obliged Haben Fandi to fly to

A.D. 1147. Andujar, and soon after delivered it up to the emperor Don Alonso, from whom he received it again as his feudatory. That monarch also took the advantage of these troubles to besiege and render himself master of Calatrava, a place of great importance. By this conquest, he acquired the command of the best part of La Mancha, which removed the Moors so much farther from Toledo.

By the assistance of the French, Genoese, and Pisans, the emperor takes Almeria.

The distractions of the Moors induced the emperor to hope for success in an expedition of still greater importance, which was the reduction of the city, fortress, and port of Almeria, at that time by much the strongest place the Moors had in Spain; from whence their privateers, which were exceedingly numerous, not only troubled the coasts inhabited by their Christian neighbours, but gave equal disturbance to the maritime provinces of France, Italy, and the adjacent islands. But for the reduction of this place a maritime force, superior to that of the enemy, being absolutely necessary, he collected supplies from his brother-in-law the prince of Arragon, the duke of Montpelier, the republic of Genoa and Pisa, who gave him the strongest assurances, that if he took the proper measures for investing the place by land, their squadron should not fail to block up the port by the first of August^s. Don Alonso, relying on this engagement, was no sooner

^q Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.
Var. Antiq.

^r Chron.
^s Chron. Var. Antiq.

reinforced by the troops of Navarre, than he entered upon this great undertaking with all the forces of his dominions, and invaded Andalusia in the beginning of the month of May. He first of all reduced Banos and Cazlona, and then proceeded to invest Baeca, which made a vigorous defence, and did not surrender before the middle of June. He put into the place a strong garrison, commanded by Don Manrique de Lara, and, marching through the territories of the Moors, invested Almeria on the land side completely by the first of August, his confederates, with four fine squadrons, lying before the bay. The city being strongly fortified, having a noble castle, a numerous garrison, excellently provided with every thing necessary, made a gallant and glorious defence; but at length the emperor took it by storm, on the 17th of October*, putting all the inhabitants to the sword who were found in arms. The victor distributed the best part of the plunder amongst his allies, whom he sent away thoroughly satisfied; and the Genoese particularly, who acquired here that emerald vessel, which still remains in their treasury, and is esteemed invaluable; yet the emperor, who remained master of the place, and delivered his subjects from the continual apprehensions they were under from this nest of corsairs, was by much the greatest gainer, and very wisely looked upon this campaign as the most glorious, as well as the most advantageous, with which Providence had favoured his arms.

The joy which this important acquisition gave to the Christians, however great, did not at all exceed the sorrow, vexation, and terror, with which the infidels were affected by so great a loss, but more especially Aben Gamma, who felt so sensible a regret on this account, that he projected, contrary to his faith and duty, as he was his vassal, against the dictates of honour and the principles of religion, the murder of the emperor. In order to effect this, he threw himself into the strong city of Jaen, and sent Don Alonso a message with great secrecy, that if he would advance towards him with a small body of chosen troops, he would open the gates, and admit him into the city. The emperor was very near falling into the snare; but some of his nobility, to whom he communicated this proposition, dissuaded him earnestly; so that he sent Don Manrique de Lara, with part of his garrison, to demand of the Moorish chief the performance of his

Aben Gamma, the Moorish viceroy, forms a conspiracy against the emperor.

* Annal. Tolet. Chron. Adef. Imperat.

promise.

promise. He had no sooner admitted that nobleman into Jaen than he attempted to secure him, and those who attended him; but the populace, either not understanding his scheme, or fearing the resentment of the emperor, raised a tumult, in which Aben Gama was stabbed, and Don Manrique, and those who were to have been the victims of his treachery, were either permitted to withdraw by the inhabitants, or found means in the midst of this confusion to open a passage for their escape^u. By this disappointment, and the death of the Moorish governor, the disturbances amongst the infidels were very much increased, as in some places there was scarce any form of government left.

*The death
of the em-
press Be-
rengara.*

The year following began with mourning; for on the third of February died the empress Donna Berengara, extremely regretted by Don Alonso and his subjects, and her body was interred with all the pomp and ceremony due to her high rank in the apostolic church of St. James at Compostella. In the beginning of March the emperor held the great assembly of estates at Leon, where he declared his sons Don Sancho and Don Ferdinand kings, the former of Castile, the mountains of Burgos, Biscay, and Toledo; the latter of Leon, Asturias, and Galicia, according to their ancient limits; which remarkable event some historians place earlier; and some later; but public inscriptions, and their signatures to privileges and charters by this new title, are the circumstances which have determined us to this date^w. The new dynasty of Almohades, which, after overturning that of the Almoravides in Africa, had likewise gained most of the places they possessed in Spain, and particularly Cordova, treated the few remaining Christians in Andalusia according to their bigotted maxims, with unrelenting severity; so that, in a very short space of time, all who worshipped God according to the lights of the gospel, were either transported to Africa, or utterly extirpated; which cruelty, joined with the sending over several bodies of Moors, and the known ambition of the new conqueror of Morocco, obliged the emperor not to wait till the Mohammedans were in a condition to attack him, but to prosecute those expeditions, by which he had hitherto so successfully weakened these implacable enemies.

A.D. 1149.

^u Chron. Adef. Imperat. Rod. Tol. Hist. Arabum.
reras, Historia de Hispana, p. v. sect. 12.

^w Fer-

As soon, therefore, as the assembly of the estates was over, he gave instructions to his principal nobility to make their levies in the winter; and to bring their respective quotas into the neighbourhood of Toledo early in the ensuing spring. Count Manrique, who commanded the forces of that kingdom, in obedience to the emperor's command, took the field in the beginning of the month of March, and was very speedily joined by the king Don Garcia, at the head of a chosen body of forces; the count Ferdinand Perez de Trava appeared at the head of the Galicians; those of Asturias and Leon were led by Don Ramiro Frolaz, Don Guitterez Fernandez was at the head of the Castilians, and Don Ponce brought the whole strength of the country of Estremadura. The emperor put himself at the head of the army as soon as it was assembled, entered the enemy's territories, and proposed to besiege Cordova, but received intelligence in his march, that the enemy had formed the like design against Toledo; and, upon news of his invasion, were in full march to attack him. Don Alonso immediately made the proper dispositions to receive them; and it was not long before the Moorish army appeared, and charged the Christians with great fury. Their impetuosity at first occasioned some disorder; but as the troops of Don Alonso and Don Garcia were men accustomed to service, they quickly repaired this disaster: perceiving that the enemy began to flag, they attacked them in their turn on all sides with such firmness and intrepidity, that the Moors were quickly broke, and those in the rear began a precipitate retreat towards Cordova*. The emperor and the king of Navarre pursued them so vigorously, that the whole army was obliged to have recourse to the same measure, and, not without very great loss, retired into that city, which the Christians quickly invested. But the emperor, perceiving that the siege would be long and bloody, and that when it was over his forces would not be in a condition to undertake any thing of importance, and perhaps find it no easy matter to preserve the place, very prudently raised the siege†. He then marched to Jaen, which was in no condition to resist so great a force; plundered it‡, and would have proceeded to Seville, if the French, who had promised to send a fleet to assist him in the reduction of that city, had not obliged him to put

A glorious victory obtained over the infidels by the emperor.

A.D. 1150.

* Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispana, lib. vii. Luc. Tudenf. Chron.
 † Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ‡ Chron. Var. Antiq.

an end to a campaign already sufficiently glorious. At his return to Toledo, he found the archbishop, Don Raymond, dead, who was succeeded by Don John; and on the 21st of November, the same year, Don Garcia, king of Navarre, ended his life at Pampeluna, soon after his return thither, to the great regret of his father-in-law^a.

*The infant
Don Sancho
married
to Donna
Blanca.*

A.D. 1151.

In the beginning of the ensuing year the emperor caused great preparations to be made for solemnizing the marriage, long before concluded, of his son the infant Don Sancho with the infanta Donna Blanca, daughter to the deceased, and sister to the reigning king of Navarre; which was accordingly performed at Najara on the 24th of February, with very great magnificence. At the same time this marriage was celebrated, Donna Urraca, queen dowager of Navarre, returned to her father's court, and received from him the principality of Asturias, the government of which she was to hold by way of appenage from the crown, for her subsistence, in a manner suitable to her birth; from whence we find her commonly styled by the ancient Spanish writers, Donna Urraca the Asturian. There was the same year an interview between the emperor and the prince of Arragon. The emperor left the Mohammedans undisturbed for about eighteen months, and then made an irruption into Andalusia, where the infant Don Alonso gained great reputation, by defeating a body of Moors^b, who attempted to disturb the emperor in his siege of Jaen; which, however, he found so strongly fortified, and so well defended, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprize. Leaving the army, he returned to Toledo, while his troops continued to harass the Moors, though without any remarkable success, even in the depth of winter, so that they were disabled from making incursions in the spring, according to custom.

A.D. 1152.

*The emperor
marries
a second
time.*

The emperor having judged it expedient to marry a second wife, and the king Don Sancho, of Navarre, having signified his desire of espousing the infanta Donna Sancha, the emperor's daughter, the town of Soria was made choice of as the most convenient for the celebration of their nuptials. The princess, of whom the emperor had made choice, was named Rica, the daughter of Ladislaus the Second, king of Poland, and the princess Inez of Austria, who, being conducted thither, the emperor espoused her on the 4th of June, in presence of the kings

^a Annal. Tol. Mayerne, Turquet, Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. 12.

^b Fed. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

of Arragon and Navarre; the king Don Sancho, when he married the infanta, was, according to the custom of those times, made a knight by his father-in-law, and reconciled to Don Raymond of Arragon, at least for the present ^c. Some time after Louis the Seventh, king of France, concluded a marriage with Donna Constança the emperor's daughter, having been a little before divorced from his first queen Eleonora, duchess of Aquitaine ^d. These marriages seem to have occupied the attention of the court, and to have prevented the war from being carried on against the Moors with the same vigour as in the former years. A.D. 1153.
A.D. 1154.

But, as soon as the situation of his affairs would give him leave, the emperor, with a numerous army, passing through that part of La Mancha which belonged to the Moors, Sierra Morena, sat down before Andujar, which was so well fortified, that it had escaped hitherto, though besieged by numerous armies. Yet this monarch took his measures so well, and his reputation was so great, that, after a gallant defence, the besieged judged it expedient to provide for their own safety by a timely capitulation ^e. We have good reason to believe, that the emperor had set his heart very much upon this conquest, since, while he lay before the place, he had the news, that his son-in-law king Louis, and his daughter Donna Constança, had arrived in Spain with a design of visiting the tomb of the apostle St. James at Compostella. He sent to compliment them, and to desire, that, after they had performed their devotions, they would repair to Toledo, where he, after the conclusion of the campaign, entertained them with great magnificence, and caused them to be accompanied at their return by the two kings, his sons, and by Don Sancho king of Navarre ^f. On the 11th of November, the same year, the king Don Sancho, of Castile, had a son born to him, who was named Alonso, and in process of time became one of the greatest princes that ever reigned in Spain; but the queen Donna Blanca, his mother, died, a few months after ^g. This event, as it created great grief in the imperial family, so it seems to have been fatal to her own; for the emperor having con-

The arrival of Louis VII. king of France, at Toledo, and his reception by the emperor.

^c Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Chron. Adef. Imperat. ^d Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispana, lib. vii. Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispaniz. ^e Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^f Chron. Var. Antiq. ^g Ferreras Historia de Hispana. p. v. sect. 12.

A. D 1056.

*The death
of Alonfo
VII.*

sented to a match between Don Alonfo, son to Don Raymond of Arragon, and his daughter Donna Sancha, who was hardly out of her cradle, was prevailed upon, in consequence of this alliance, to invade the kingdom of Navarre ^b.

We know little of the progress of that war, at least with regard to the emperor, who seems to have been diverted from it by the news of a powerful invasion meditated by the Moors. He resolved to prevent this by marching with all his forces into Andalusia, accompanied by his son Don Sancho king of Castile, and by the principal lords and prelates of his court, amongst whom was the archbishop of Toledo. He advanced directly towards the enemy, whom he attacked with the utmost vigour, and, after an obstinate and bloody resistance, totally defeated them with great slaughter. But, before he had time to prosecute this glorious victory, he found himself attacked by a disease, which made him sensible that his end was approaching. He quitted therefore the command of his army to his son Don Sancho, and set out on his return towards Toledo. His distemper, however, continually increasing, he stopped at a little place called Fresneda on the frontiers, where, on the 21st day of August, in the year 1157, he resigned his soul to his Creator, being assisted in his last moments by the archbishop of Toledo ⁱ. He was indisputably one of the greatest monarchs Spain ever had to boast of. He extended his dominions from the mountains of Biscay to those of the Sierra Morena, had the singular honour of receiving the homage of the kings of Navarre and Arragon, and of acquiring, in consequence of that, the glorious title of emperor ^k; which has indeed been ascribed to some of his predecessors, but without due proof. He loved, and was beloved by his nobility; but at the same time he justly acquired, by his paternal care and strict maintenance of the laws, the title of the father of the commons, whom he protected from all oppression, and rendered far more happy and easy in their circumstances, than they had formerly been. He was a consummate and successful general, and the ablest politician of his time; and did more towards the recovery of Spain out of the hands of the infidels, than any of the princes who had reigned be-

^b Chron. Adef. Imperat. Mayerne, Turquet Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. ix. ^k Ferreras Historia de Hispana, p. v. scđ. 12.

fore him, his grandfather of the same name only excepted. He was highly respected by his neighbours, and even by the Moorish princes, amongst whom Mohammed Abenzel, king of Murcia, became his vassal but a few years before his death¹. His son, Don Sancho, no sooner understood that he had breathed his last, than he quitted the army to attend his corpse to Toledo, where it was interred in the royal chapel of the cathedral, with a pomp suitable to the melancholy occasion (B)^m.

As soon as the funeral of the emperor was over, Don Sancho repaired to Burgos, where he was unanimously acknowledged and received as king of Castile, his brother, Don Ferdinand, being with equal unanimity admitted to the sovereignty of the kingdom of Leon, Asturias, and Galiciaⁿ. But, like young princes, they were more attentive to the ceremony and pomp of their inaugurations, than to the high and arduous functions of kings. Though the death of Don Alonso did not affect the civil government, yet it had a very great influence on their military affairs. The Moors were no sooner acquainted with it, than they flattered themselves the fortune of Spain was departed. Assembling in crowds, they offered themselves to their commanders; who, making a proper use of this alacrity, fell upon Pedraches, Andujar, Baeza, and all the places they had lately lost, which they recovered with great facility, and drove the Christians in one autumn campaign out of all that the emperor had acquired in Andalusia; upon which happy success, they addressed themselves to Abdulmenon, king of Morocco, beseeching him not to let slip this favourable opportunity of retrieving the honour and the dominions of the Moors. He received this application so favourably, and promised such speedy and prodigious succours, that the Knights Templars, who

Several advantages gained by the Moors upon his demise.

¹ Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^m Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. Alphonso a Carthegena de Reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis Francisi Taraphæ de Reg. Hispaniæ. ⁿ Mariana Historia general de Hispania, p. v. sect. 12. Mayerne, Turquet Histoire generale d'Espagne, liv. ix.

(B) In one respect this great prince may be esteemed more happy than his ancestors; for all his great actions were fairly and fully recorded, in a Latin chronicle that bears his name, and was written in or near his time, which is that we have cited after Ferreras, and has supplied us with many particulars, and rectified many dates, that must otherwise have remained perplexed or doubtful.

held the town of Calatrava as a fief from the crown, resigned it as a place they should not be able to defend; upon which Don Sancho published an edict, in which he offered to give that place to any of his nobility, who would undertake to maintain and support it; the consequences of which offer will be hereafter seen at large^o.

*Generous
and prudent
behaviour of
Don Sancho,
king of
Castile,
to his brother.*

Don Ferdinand was hardly seated on the throne of Leon, before he found, like most young kings, his person besieged by flatterers, to whom he was but too accessible; so that the first acts of his government were such as had an evident tendency to overturn it; for, in consequence of the bad advices given him, he discarded Don Ponce de Minerva, and most of the old officers and statesmen that had been the friends and favourites of his father; who, finding themselves removed from all their employments, retired to the court of Burgos, and were received with extraordinary respect and kindness by the king of Castile. Don Sancho was no sooner acquainted with the motives which had induced them to take shelter under his protection, than he marched with a considerable army into his brother's dominions; of which motion Don Ferdinand no sooner received intelligence, than he set out to meet his brother with a small retinue; for they had hitherto lived together with so much friendship and affection, that he could not apprehend any danger in the presence of one to whom he had been always dear. He met him at the abbey of Sahagon just as he was going to dinner, and the brothers, as soon as they had embraced, sat down to table^p. After they had done, Don Sancho told him, that he was glad to see him in that condition; for that, finding his principal nobility retired out of his dominions, he apprehended he stood in need of his assistance; he added, that their father was a wise man, as well as a great prince; that his wisdom enabled him to make choice of such officers and counsellors, as enabled him to become a great king; that he had given him little in giving a kingdom, if he had not likewise left him these; that he must therefore take them home with him, listen to their advice, discard his flatterers, and rely upon it, that, if his own forces were not sufficient, he and his Castilians were ready to assist him upon any proper occasion. Don Ferdinand taking all this in good part, Don Sancho left him his old servants, and returned into Castile with his army^q. The king of Navarre conceived

^o Chron. Var. Antiq.

^p Chron. Var. Antiq.

^q Ferreras Historia de Hispāna, par. v. sect. 12.

^q Fer-

this a fit time to recover the province of Riaja, which he looked upon as with-held from him by force, and which therefore he had a right to reduce, whenever it was in his power ; but Don Sancho had intelligence of his design before he marched against his brother, and therefore appointed the count Don Ponce to command the troops intended for the defence of that province ; in which command he behaved in such a manner, that the king of Navarre thought proper to retire into his own dominions, without coming to action.

Upon his return into his own territories, the first step the king of Castile took, was to put the monarchs of Arragon and Navarre in mind, that the former was his uncle, the latter his brother-in-law ; that he had never offended either ; and that it would not recommend them in the sight of God or of man, to take advantage of that invasion with which the Moors threatened his dominions ; but that, if they conceived any injustice on his side, he was ready to meet them either together or apart, and to give them any reasonable satisfaction. Both monarchs accepted this proposal ; in consequence of which he had an interview with the king of Navarre at Almazan, where a peace and defensive alliance was concluded between them^r. He went thence to Osma, where he met his uncle Don Raymond, who expostulated freely with him on the acquisitions made by his father, at the expence of the crown of Arragon, alleging, that the emperor ought to have been content with his homage, which he rendered him freely, and not have curtailed his dominions. Don Sancho told him, that what he liked he would keep, and what he disliked he would restore ; and accordingly consented by a treaty, that all the country on the right of the river Ebro should belong to the king of Arragon as in times past, upon condition that he did homage to the king of Castile, and assisted him with his sword drawn at his coronation ; which conditions were readily accepted, and Don Raymond promised him a choice body of his troops^s. About this time St. Raymond, abbot of Vitero, undertook the defence of Calatrava, without any other force than that of another monk, whose name was Diego Velasquez, who, as well as himself, had borne arms many years before they wore frocks ; and without any

He composes all differences with the king of Arragon, and concludes with him a treaty.

^r Chron. Var. Antiq.

^s Mariana Historia General de Hispana, lib. xi. Chron. Var. Antiq.

other fund than that of their zeal and piety. The king granted the fortress without scruple; and, in the space of a few weeks, they by their sermons raised twenty thousand men, and the means of subsisting them; upon which St. Raymond gave the rule of the Cistercian order a military turn, from whence arose that order of religious chivalry, which has been since distinguished by the name of Calatrava¹ (U).

Aben-

¹ Ferreras *Historia de Hispana*, par. v. sec. 12.

(U) In respect to points that depend upon records, there is a degree of certainty superior to most others; and therefore we find almost all the historians agree in placing the institution of this order anno 1158. This whole transaction is very fully and very elegantly related by Mariana, who observes, that the Knights Templars dishonoured themselves extremely by so base a proceeding; which however so far discouraged the nobility, that notwithstanding the offers made, and the temptation of so rich and noble a seignory, there was not one of them who had the courage to accept the king's offer, and undertake the defence of the place; which reduced that monarch to the necessity of promising it to any who would engage to keep it. Don Diego Velasquez, an old experienced officer, who had taken the Cistercian order, framed in his mind a scheme for compounding the two professions he had himself sustained; and being strongly persuaded the thing might be accomplished, importuned Don Raymond, abbot of Vitero, to challenge the king's promise, which at length he did. Diego Velasquez procured from John archbishop of Toledo, in whose diocese Cala-

trava lay, a large sum of money; which enabled him to repair the fortifications. He then preached to the young nobility, that instead of retiring into convents, to pass an idle and inactive life, it would be far more glorious in the sight of God and man to dedicate themselves to the service and defence of their faith and country, suitable to their birth and breeding. Having by these means drawn eight or nine thousand men together, he insinuated to the common people, the great strength and situation of Calatrava, now so well fortified, and provided with such a garrison, as afforded them a prospect of greater security than in most other places; adding, that the delightful villages along the Guadiana, under its jurisdiction, might be easily repaired, and be held from the knights upon very moderate terms; by which he brought together ten or twelve thousand citizens and peasants; and in the course of a few years so fully executed his plan, that the order had an ample revenue, and the people from whom it arose thought themselves happy. In this conjuncture, therefore, a better expedient could not have been desired; and pope Alexander the

Third

Aben-Jacob, the son of Abdulmenon king of Morocco, *He dies suddenly.* having brought over a great number of Moors from Africa, began to make vast preparations for attacking the kingdom of Toledo; upon which the inhabitants of Avila and the Estremadurians, with the consent of Don Sancho, assembled a great body of troops, with which they fell into the district about Seville. Aben-Jacob, as soon as he received intelligence of this invasion, joined his forces with those of Dalegen and Aben-Gamar, and marched immediately to attack the Christians. The action was obstinate and bloody, but at length victory declared on the side of the Christians, and the Moors were not only defeated with great slaughter, but also lost their two generals Dalegen and Aben-Gamar, so that the victory was equally glorious and compleat^u. But the joy they received from thence was of short continuance, since, on the last day of August 1158, Don Sancho, king of Castile, breathed his last at Toledo, when he had worn the crown one year and ten days^w. His body was interred by that of the emperor his father; his loss was sincerely deplored by all his subjects, and by his allies (X).

^u Roderic Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

Hispan. Alphonſi a Carthagena Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæſis Franciſci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan.

^w Roderic Santii Hist.

Third, by his bull in 1164, declared as much: but, as Mariana well observes, by degrees this noble institution has degenerated, the commanderies, which were formerly the reward of military merit, being frequently bestowed upon minions and favourites. Modern writers assure us, that the order has at present thirty-four commanderies, and eight priories, which produce an annual revenue of one hundred and twenty thousand ducats. The knights wear on their upper garment a red cross, to distinguish them from other orders: and as that of St. James is distinguished by the epithet of the rich, and that of Alcantara is stiled the noble, so this of Calatrava is entitled

the gallant, which, how it accords with its original institution, is not easy to discern.

(X) This young monarch was surnamed el Deseado, or the Desired, and is justly allowed to have the most unspotted character in the whole Spanish history. It is given us in a few words, by the archbishop of Toledo and the bishop of Tuy; the latter tells us, that in religion he was sincere, and gallant in the field, distinguished by the sweetness of his temper, and adorned with every royal virtue. He adds, that he was alike dear to the populace and to the nobility, because he made it the whole study of his life to please God and good men.

*Don Alonso
III. suc-
ceeds him,
under the
tutition of
Don Guti-
terez de
Castro.*

The crown of Castile devolved on his son Don Alonso, then but three years of age, whom his father left to the care of Don Guitterez de Castro, whom he declared sole regent, and forbid the removing any of his father's governors or officers, before his son was at full age, unless from some indispensable cause. This appointment excited the envy of many of the most puissant nobility, but more especially of the house of Lara, of which Don Manrique was the chief, and who perhaps had not forgot the misfortunes of Don Pedro, at the beginning of the emperor's reign. Don Guitterez, however, deserved all the confidence his master had reposed in him : he was a nobleman far advanced in years, but not infirm ; of great prudence, and of untainted probity. He committed the education of the king to Don Garcia de Cabra, who was killed at the battle of Ucles with the infant Don Sancho, and this notwithstanding he was brother by the mother's side to Don Manrique de Lara, who from the beginning had declared himself his enemy, and who quickly corrupted Don Garcia, and engaged him to put the person of the young king into his hands, contrary to his honour, and in breach of that trust which had been reposed in him *. Don Guitterez laboured all that was in his power to have this matter compromised, and the person of the young king restored ; but finding this impracticable, he was about to have recourse to arms, when providence withdrew him from all these troubles to eternal rest †, though his competitor would not allow his corpse peace in the grave.

*His uncle
the king of
Leon claims
the regen-
cy, but at
length
compromi-
ses the
dispute.*

Don Manrique de Lara, and the lords of his family and faction, thought themselves now in a good measure secure, from having the sole government of the kingdom, during a long minority, disputed with them ; and in order to make this absolutely sure, they took the only step that could render it precarious, which was breaking through the king's will, and depriving Don Ferdinand, and all his brothers, of their respective employments ‡, merely because they were of the family of Castro. They thereupon applied to Don Ferdinand, king of Leon, who at their request declared himself tutor and regent of his nephew, and with a numerous army entered the kingdom of Toledo, where the people very readily submitted, and even the inhabitants of the capital upon the first summons

* Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon.

† Mayerne Turquet, Historia General de

Hispana, liv. ix.

‡ Chron. Var. Antiq.

opened their gates^a. The king, encouraged by this success, entered Castile, and Don Manrique, and the lords of Lara, perceiving an unwillingness in the people to fight against the uncle of their sovereign, retired to the fortress of Soria, carrying the young prince with them. At length finding themselves menaced with a siege, they entered into a negotiation, and offered to deliver up the person of their young king to his uncle upon certain terms; but this step was taken merely to amuse the king of Leon: for as soon as king Ferdinand listened to their request, they sent the king out privately, and carried him from place to place with such secrecy, that Don Ferdinand was at last obliged to come to their terms, implying that they should keep the best part of the kingdom, as well as the king; in their possession, and leave the rest to his administration: a compromise that was by no means acceptable, either to the populace or to the nobility^b.

A.D. 1159.

Though this agreement was more in favour of the faction than they could either desire or expect, yet they were so far from being contented with it, that Don Ferdinand was no sooner retired into his own dominions than they attempted to dispossess him by force of those places which they had put into his hands. But though the king of Leon was in all respects a good natured prince, yet he resented this behaviour so much, that in the month of March following, he advanced with an army against them, gave them battle, and defeated them intirely^c. Towards the close of the year the Moors entered Castile, and gained some advantages. On the other hand, Don Sancho, king of Navarre, judging no time so proper to revive his pretensions to the country of Riaja, entered it with a powerful army, and reduced the best part of it, before Don Manrique, and his associates, were in any condition to provide for its defence^d. But as soon as they were able to draw a competent number of troops together, and found that he was engaged in a war with the Mohammedans, they entered that country in their turn, and recovered it again in as little time as it was lost. Other expeditions of the like kind happened in succeeding years with various fortune; but upon the whole Don Sancho of Navarre kept almost all the places that he claimed^e.

This treaty broken, and Castile invaded by the kings of Leon and Navarre.

^a Annal. Toletan.

^b Ferreras Historia de Hispania, par.

v. sec. xii.

^c Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon, Roderic Toletan

Hist. Arabum.

^d Chron. Var. Antiqu.

^e Roderic

Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet.

*Reasons
why the
Moors did
not make
greater
advanta-
ges of these
disorders.*

It might be naturally apprehended, that the Moors would not fail to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity to repair the losses they had sustained, and to recover at least some of the important places that had been taken from them by the Christians; more especially as they were sure of constant and considerable supplies from their countrymen in Africa, and saw the power of the Christians as much divided, depressed, and distracted, as they could wish; and yet it does not appear, that they made any great advantage of so favourable a juncture. The Spanish historians have not given us a very clear account of this matter; but as far as we can judge from a comparison of facts, it may be ascribed, at least in a great measure, to three different causes. The first was, that though the Christian princes were not well agreed amongst themselves, yet they did not employ their arms against each other, so that the forces destined for the protection of the frontiers of the kingdoms of Castile and Toledo, were not withdrawn; and though they seldom acted offensively, yet being commanded by able officers, it is likely they would have defended themselves with spirit, if attacked. A second cause was the new militia established on purpose to act continually either offensively, or defensively, against the infidels, by which we mean the new orders of chivalry; for, besides those already mentioned, there started up at this time another, which proved of double advantage to the Christians. There was in the kingdoms of Leon and Castile a considerable number of wild debauched young gentlemen, who, by indulging their passions, had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the law, that they had no security but what they derived from their swords. These people had lived long in the mountains, and had been gradually brought under the command of Don Pedro Fernandes, who being both older and wiser than when he took up this dangerous trade, bethought himself of an expedient to set things right again, and to reconcile himself and his dependants to the civil government. The method he took was this; he bound all who submitted to his authority by oath never to injure any Christian, but to devote themselves to the protection of their country against the Moors; and having converted the rule of St. Augustine into a military institution, he made it that of his new order, which, with the licence and under the protection of the king Don Ferdinand, assumed the apostle St. James for their patron, and had

lands

lands given them by the crown ' for their support (A). Another cause was the civil wars amongst themselves, in which some of the Christian princes wisely took part, and by constantly assisting the weaker side, without enquiring into the merits of the dispute, kept their quarrels on foot, and contributed not a little to weaken both. We may add, that Don Alonso, king of Portugal, employed his arms against them all this time, and not without success, the king of Arragon also making occasionally incursions.

Don Ferdinand king of Leon, finding himself exceedingly disturbed by the intrigues of the family of Lara, and that he was in continual danger of losing the places he held in the name of his nephew, caused a negotiation to be set on foot with Don Manrique, in which he shewed so strong an inclination to compromise their differences, that this nobleman at length invited him to Soria, where he had a conference with his nephew, and adjusted every thing with Don Manrique ‡. He took advantage of this calm, in order to repair and settle several great towns in the heart of his dominions, as well as on the frontiers, which were either fallen through time to decay, or else were but indifferently built and peopled at first; and to this object he attended with so much care and vigilance, that they were very soon in as good a condition as he

A.D. 1163.

Don Ferdinand of Leon marries the infant Donna Urraca of Portugal.

† Ferreras Historia de Hispania, p. v. sect. xii. de Reb. Hispania, lib. vii. Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

‡ Rod. Tolet.

(A) The ensign of this order is a cross, terminating like the blade of a sword, the hilt crossleted and fashioned after the ancient manner; whereupon it was called La Orden de Sanctiago de la Espada, as also Ordo militaris Sancti Jacobi enfigeri à qualitate insignium: and the reason why this ensign is always painted red rather than any other colour, is thus given by Don Rodrigo Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, *Rubet ensis sanguine Arabum*. But these knights assumed not only the sword in form of a cross, but also the symbol of St. James, which, though it can-

not be directly determined what it is, yet it seems to be the escallop shell: for the escallop is generally among the Spaniards taken for the badge of St. James, and worn by pilgrims in their voyages to his sepulchre at Compostella. At present there are eighty-seven commanderies of the order of St. James in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, which yield an annual revenue of two hundred and seventy thousand ducats, and about three score commanderies in the kingdom of Portugal, which are also of great value.

could wish. He granted also new privileges to the people, and neglected no means that could be devised to make his dominions flourish, and his people happy. Amongst other methods that were thought necessary for this purpose, one that was held of the greatest consequence by his father's old ministers, was his speedy marriage; that by allying himself with some powerful prince, he might the better secure assistance in case of foreign invasion, and defend his people from the miseries that might be apprehended from an unsettled succession. Don Ferdinand, moved by these suggestions, cast his eyes upon the princess Donna Urraca, daughter to Don Alonso, king of Portugal, and accordingly demanded her in marriage. Don Alonso very readily consented to the match, and soon after sent the princess to Leon with a splendid retinue, where she was espoused by the king Don Ferdinand with great solemnity, to the universal joy of the people of both nations, who concluded that this must of necessity keep the two kingdoms in friendship and peace^b.

AD. 1164.

*He builds
the city of
Merobriga
and Bletisa,
which oc-
casioned an
insurrec-
tion.*

As soon as the ceremonies of the marriage were performed, the king Don Ferdinand resumed the cares of government with his usual application, and casting his eyes upon Merobriga and Bletisa, places large and considerable in ancient times, though they were then little better than heaps of ruins, he gave orders that they should be rebuilt and fortified; from which it is evident, that he meant to strengthen his territories on that side against Portugal. But the people of Salamanca, who considered these places as lying within their jurisdiction, and not at all desirous of seeing them flourish, assembled several thousand men, with an intention to prevent by force the execution of the king's project. The king Don Ferdinand had acquired more experience, and was upon better terms with his nobility, than in the first part of this reign, and would not therefore submit to the dictates of the populace. Drawing out the forces of Leon, Tamora, and Astorga, he marched against the rebels, defeated them in a bloody engagement, and then proceeding to Salamanca, chastised those who had been the authors of these troubles; after which things remained very quiet¹. As soon as these places were restored and in some measure peopled, the king laid the plan of taking several others from the

^b Emanuel de Faria y Sousa epitome las Historias Portuguezas. Mayerne, Turquet, Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. x. i Chron. Var. Antiq

Moors; but first of all thought proper to conclude an alliance with the king of Navarre, that, in case his nephew, whom he discerned to be of a very brisk and active temper, should give him any disturbance, he might not be without an ally capable of making a diversion in his favour. This precaution being taken, he added Alcantara, Albuquerque, and Elvas, to his dominions, without meeting with any great resistance from the enemy, or disturbance from his neighbours^k. But let us now return to the affairs of Castile.

Don Manrique de Lara paid so little regard to the mild counsels given him by the king of Leon, that instead of endeavouring to compose amicably those disputes that had been so fatal to the interests of the young king his pupil, he bent all his endeavours to inflame the mind of the young prince against the family of Castro, and at length raised an army, with which he marched to dispossess Don Ferdinand de Castro of the government of Toledo, and his friends of the places they possessed^l. On the other hand, Don Ferdinand de Castro opposed force to force; and marching with a numerous and well appointed army, met that of his competitor between Garcinarro and Huete, where, after an obstinate and bloody action, Don Manrique being killed, his forces fled and left Don Ferdinand master of the field of battle^m. Notwithstanding this great blow, Don Nugnez de Lara, brother to the late count Manrique, chiefly by the influence of the royal person, soon raised another army, and laid siege to the castle of Zurita, which was very gallantly defended by Lope de Arenas, placed therein by the Castro's, and would not have been taken at last, if one of the governor's domestics had not, for a sum of money, basely undertaken, and as barbarously executed, the murder of his masterⁿ. The pecuniary reward in all probability came from the minister; but the young king Don Alonso thought so eminent a service should be accompanied also with a royal reward, for which reason he ordered his eyes to be put out. This method having succeeded in a place of less consequence, it was judged expedient to practise the same art with regard to Toledo. A person of distinction in that city having been prevailed upon to let in the king's troops se-

The young king of Castile seizes Toledo.

A.D. 1166.

^k Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispana, lib. viii.
^l Luc. Tudent. Chron. Annal. Tolet. ^m Chron. Var. Antiq.
ⁿ Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Ferreras Historia de Hispan. p. v. sect. xii.

cretly, Don Ferdinand Ruyz de Castro had the first notice of this treachery from the acclamations of the people, at the sight of their young king: upon which, having no other resource left, he mounted his horse, and, attended by a few friends, made his escape into the territory of the Moors^o. The capital being thus taken by surprize, the rest of the cities, castles and towns, in the kingdom of Toledo, opened their gates, and submitted to the king, or rather to Don Nugnez de Lara, who governed all things with almost royal authority^p. Mohammed, king of Valencia, became at this time vassal to the king of Castile.

*The king of
Portugal
invades
Leon,
and is tak-
en prisoner
by king
Ferdinand.*

It quickly appeared that Don Ferdinand, king of Leon, had formed a right judgment when he fortified his frontiers on the side of Portugal, for notwithstanding he had married the daughter of Don Alonso, that monarch made a sudden irruption into Galicia, and possessed himself of Limmia and Turon, into which he put strong garrisons^q. Next year, elated with this success, he marched with a numerous army and invested Badajoz, upon the news of which enterprize, Don Ferdinand, who had assembled a good army at Ciudad Rodrigo, marched to its relief. It is necessary to observe, that this city was in the hands of the Moors, but in all probability was a feignory held by homage from the king of Leon, who therefore found himself, from principles of justice as well as policy, interested in its defence. Yet before he could arrive within sight of the place, it was surrendered; upon which Don Ferdinand took a resolution of besieging the king of Portugal in his new conquest, a design which Don Alonso no sooner perceived than he endeavoured to draw out his forces into the field. Though he was then between seventy and four-score, he was himself on horseback, and pushing forward at the head of his guards to get out at the gate, struck his leg with such vehemence against one of the bolts as shattered it to pieces. This accident occasioned such confusion, that the troops of Portugal were easily beaten, and Don Alonso taken prisoner^r. He was exceedingly mortified by this disgrace, and had no reason to expect very kind treatment from his son-in-law, to whom he made large offers to procure his liberty. The king of Leon behaved towards him

A.D. 1167.

^o Roderic Toletan *Historia Arabum*. Lucæ Tudenfis Chron.
^p Annal. Toletan. Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii.
^q Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii.
^r Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, epitome de las Hist. Portuguesas.

with the most profound respect, and the greatest affection possible; he desired him to lay aside thoughts of business and attend to his cure; but finding him restless and impatient, he assured him that he expected nothing more than to have things put into the same condition as before the war, and that they might live in peace and friendship for the future. The king of Portugal most willingly assented to this proposal, and before his cure was perfected returned to his own dominions, a precipitate step which was the reason that he remained lame during the rest of his life^a. As soon as the Portuguese had evacuated the place, Don Ferdinand ordered his troops to quit it likewise, after having received the homage of the Mohammedan governor. He then returned to his capital of Leon, and applied himself assiduously to the affairs of his civil government, which he brought into better order than they had ever been in the times of his predecessors, who by having more extensive territories were less at leisure to look into things of this nature for the ease and benefit of their subjects^b.

The disputes between the Almohades and the independent Moors of Spain, if these could be properly so styled, who were the subjects of Mohammed, king of Valencia, who was the vassal of Don Alonso of Castile, still continued. The king of Morocco judged it impossible for him to prosecute the war against the Christians with any great effect, while any of the Moors disputed his authority; and, on the other hand, the Christians judged it infinitely more expedient for them to act against the Moors as auxiliaries of Moors than as direct enemies, till it should be in their power to crush them effectually by a general confederacy. The people of Castile, and more especially the partizans of the house of Lara, were very desirous that the young king should marry, though he was not at this time above fourteen; an assembly of the states was therefore called at Burgos to settle this and other weighty affairs. In consequence of their deliberations, ambassadors were sent to Henry the II. king of England, at that time in Guienne, to demand in the name of Don Alonso the princess Eleonora his daughter, by the duchess of Aquitaine of the same name^c. While this treaty was on

*Don Alonso
of Castile
marries the
king of
England's
daughter
Eleonora.*

A.D. 1169.

^a Chron. Var. Antiq. Emanuel de Faria y Sousa epitome de las Historias Portuguesas. ^b Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet. ^c Roger Hoveden, Ger- vaise Tilbur, &c.

the carpet, the young king had an interview with the king of Arragon upon the frontiers, in which all old disputes were settled, and a new treaty offensive and defensive made between the two crowns, with an exchange of fortresses on both sides, for the better security of its being punctually performed^w. At the same time, the king of Castile, as he was not at this juncture upon very good terms with the king of Navarre, stipulated with the monarch of Arragon for the safe passage of his queen^x. The king, as soon as he heard of her arrival in Arragon, sent the archbishop of Toledo, the count of Lara, and several persons of the first distinction to receive her, met her in person at Terrazona, where their marriage was solemnized in presence of the king of Arragon and the prime nobility of both nations; after which ceremony the king and queen of Castile proceeded to Burgos, being every where welcomed by the loud acclamations of their subjects^y; and in the month of August in the succeeding year, the queen was brought to bed of an infant, who was named Donna Berengara, after her great grandmother.

A.D. 1170.

*The Moors
invade
Portugal.*

In order to give a new turn to his affairs in Spain, Joseph king of Morocco sent over a very numerous body of troops, which, joined to those he had before, were put under the command of Omar, esteemed one of the ablest officers that had in this age commanded the Moorish armies. He marched with them against the king of Valentia in person, and at the same time sent a strong detachment to besiege Santaren, which had been many years in the possession of the king of Portugal; but against the former he was able to do little through the assistance that he received from the king of Castile; and the forces before Santaren were attacked and defeated by the Portuguese monarch, who obliged them to raise the siege and retire in great disorder. This advantage was no sooner obtained, than Don Ferdinand, king of Leon, appeared in sight of the city with a numerous army, which alarmed the king of Portugal much more than the visit of the former invaders. He was, however, soon out of his pain, upon receiving a message from his son-in-law, to compliment him on his victory, and to assure him, that he came with no other view than to lend him his assist-

^w Chron. Var. Antiq.
sect. xii.

^x Ferreras Hist. de Hispania, p. v.
^y Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. Alphonsi a Carthagina
Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis Francisci Taraphiæ de Reg. Hispaniæ.

ance; upon which under the like circumstances he might always depend. This declaration was so acceptable to the Portuguese, that they could not help testifying their satisfaction in the warmest terms possible, and it likewise made a very favourable impression upon the Christians throughout Spain in general.^z A.D. 1171.

These misfortunes, however, irritated Joseph, king of Morocco, to such a degree, that he took a resolution of carrying on the war in person. In the summer of the ensuing year he invaded the territories of Don Alonso of Castile, and besieged Huete, which he reduced to the last extremity; but upon the approach of the king Don Alonso with the whole force of his dominions, he thought proper to retire into his own territories. Having intelligence of the death of his old enemy Mohammed, king of Valentia, he made himself some amends for his former disappointment, by an irruption into his countries; where, without much difficulty, he conquered the kingdom of Murcia, and added it to his empire.^a He might have done more if the situation of his affairs in Africa had not obliged him to return thither; and he might have been prevented from doing so much, if the kings of Arragon and Castile had not turned their arms against the king of Navarre, though with little success, except harrassing his dominions, out of which they were, at length, obliged to retire, without making themselves masters of one considerable place, or coming to any action.^b A.D. 1172.

Upon the return of Joseph, king of Morocco, into Africa, Aben Jacob was appointed his lieutenant, and commander in chief in Spain; who, to signalize the first year of his government, made an irruption into Portugal, where he besieged Torres Novas, and took it by assault. He then suddenly entered the territories of Leon, of which invasion the king, Don Ferdinand, no sooner received intelligence, than he marched with a body of troops he intended to have sent to the assistance of his father-in-law, and threw himself into Ciudad Rodrigo, just time enough to prevent that place from being invested. He was quickly convinced that the army of Aben Jacob was much more formidable than he imagined; and what chagrined him most, was, that Don Ferdinand Ruyz de Castro had a share in this expedition, with a very consi-

Don Ferdinand of Leon gains a victory over the Moors.

^z Chron. Var. Antiq.

^a Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^b Luc. Tudens. Chron. Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

A.D. 1173.

derable corps of brave men, who had followed his fortune. The king apprehended his condition to be very dangerous if he should be shut up in a place scarce able to contain his troops; and therefore took a wife, as well as generous resolution, of first trying his fortune in the field^c. The enemy were much embarrassed with the spoil they had taken in Portugal, and had separated their army into several bodies, with a view to prevent any relief from being given to the place; so that being suddenly attacked by Don Ferdinand, they were quickly thrown into confusion, which, in a short time, produced a total defeat^d. The king improved this victory, by making such offers to Don Ferdinand Ruyz de Castro, as induced him to quit the party of the Moors, and to depend upon the protection of the king of Leon, who received him with great affability and kindness, and assigned him lands sufficient for the subsistence of himself and all his dependants^e.

A difference arises between the kings of Arragon and Castile.

The kings of Castile and Arragon were still at war with the king of Navarre, a prince far inferior to them in force, but superior in his knowledge of the military art; by which he kept them from making any conquests that were worth maintaining, and still preserved those places which had given birth to these disputes, in spite of repeated invasions; in which, though the confederates promised themselves much, they were able to effect little. At length, as he wisely foresaw, they grew dissatisfied with each other, and from secret murmurs and complaints broke at length into open hostilities, begun by the king of Castile, who retook one of the castles which he had yielded as a pledge for the due performance of treaties, but continued by the king of Arragon, who at length declared he would have nothing farther to do with the Castilian. As the highest proof of his resentment, he refused to celebrate his marriage with the infant Donna Sancha, daughter to the emperor Alonso, aunt to the king of Castile, and sister to the king of Leon; and, to shew how much he was in earnest, sent ambassadors to Constantinople, to obtain the princess Eudoxia, daughter to the emperor Emanuel. This measure not only alarmed the court of Castile, but that of Leon also; Don Ferdinand making no secret that he could not be a tame spec-

^c Ferreras Historia de Hispan. p. v. sect. xii. Mayerne, Turquet.
^d Luc. Tudent. Chron. Roderic Toletan. Hist. Arabum. ^e Red.
 Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

tator of such an insult offered to his sister; so that the king of Arragon had now the war with Navarre still open, and himself upon bad terms with the kings of Castile and Leon; the consideration of which difficulties, soon brought him to alter his measures, though even then with some degree of reluctance and discredit.

In the mean time, the old quarrel between the families of Castro and Lara was revived, to such a degree as to disturb the peace of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, almost all the noble families in both taking part either on one side or the other. The count Don Oforio, though Don Ferdinand Ruyz de Castro had married his daughter, took part with the house of Lara, and actually joined his vassals to the friends of that family, when a resolution was taken to determine, once for all, these implacable resentments by a general action, at a place assigned in the province of Tiero de Campos^f. It is true that Mariana^g represents this war, as if it had been carried on between the uncle and the nephew; but all the ancient historians consider it in quite another light^h. The battle was fought on the spot assigned, and at the day appointed, not only with great vivacity and spirit, but with all the rage and fury that inveterate hatred could inspire. In the end, Don Ferdinand de Castro gained a complete victoryⁱ, the count Don Alvaro and the count Don Oforio being killed upon the spot, and the count Don Nugnez de Lara and the count Don Rodrigo Guitterez were made prisoners, whom Don Ferdinand generously dismissed, that they might take care of the funerals of their friends. He shewed not long after, that his resentment was not at all abated, by repudiating his wife for her father's offence, notwithstanding he had paid for it with his blood; and the king of Leon, that he might attach him the more strongly to his service, gave him in marriage Donna Tiennetta, the natural daughter of the emperor, and his own sister^k: a circumstance which, compared with that monarch's own match, will shew he has no despicable politician.

The king of Arragon, perceiving that his own subjects were extremely offended at his breaking off the match with the infanta Donna Sancha, and being informed that the courts of Leon and Castile meditated an invasion of his

The houses of de Castro and Lara bring their disputes to the decision of a battle.

The kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, refer their differences to Henry Rod. to Henry Rod. Santii Hist. Hispana, II. of England.

^f Ferreras Historia de Hispana, p. v. sect. xii.

general de Hispana, lib. xi.

^h Chron. Var. Antiq.

Tolet. de Reb. Hispana, lib. vii.

Alphonso a Carthagina Reg. Hispana, Anacephalæosis Taraphæ de Reg. Hispaniæ.

^g Historia

ⁱ Rod. to Henry

^k Rod. Santii Hist. Hispana, II. of

England.

dominions, suddenly altered his purpose, and demanded that princess as his wife. Don Alonso readily assented, and the marriage was solemnized on the 18th of January, at Saragossa¹, in the presence of the pope's legate, and of all the prelates and nobility of that kingdom: This alliance naturally engaged them to return to their former measures, in respect to the king of Navarre, upon whom they continued to make war for several years, but with as little success as before; till at last, upon the repeated interposition of the clergy and nobility, all the three kings were prevailed upon to suspend hostilities, and to refer the matters in dispute, once for all, to the decision of the king of England, to whom each of the kings sent ambassadors, properly instructed to support their respective pretensions. That king accordingly, after a solemn hearing of all parties, pronounced a very equitable award, with which however none of them were satisfied^m; though, after some new disturbances, they were at length content to determine things amongst themselves, upon pretty near the same conditions which the king had prescribed.

Don Ferdinand of Leon compelled by the Pope's censure to part with his queen,

The king Don Ferdinand of Leon had lived for many years in the greatest harmony with his queen, and, for all that appears to the contrary, was inclined to live with her according to the laws of God and of his kingdom during his life; but the pope's cardinal legate at his court, having found out that the king and the queen stood in an equal degree of relation, or in other words, were both of them great grand children to the king Don Alphonso the Sixth, he gave notice of it to his master, who thereupon enjoined the king to put away his wife, though he had by her a son, the infant Don Alonso, who was to be the heir of his dominionsⁿ. It is said that the king demurred a little to this, and that he even went so far as to keep his wife a year, notwithstanding all the exhortations and even menaces of the pope; nay, it is even asserted that he was not brought to a compliance till his subjects felt the thunder and lightning of Rome, by the kingdom's being put under an interdict: then, for his subjects ease and his own, he parted with his wife Donna Urraca^o; and about a year after, espoused Donna Theresa, the daughter,

A D. 1175.

¹ Mariana Historia General de Hispana, lib. xi. Ferreras Historia de Hispana, par. v. sec. xii. Mayerne, Turquet.

^m Roger Hoveden. Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. par. v. sec. xii.

ⁿ Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon.

^o Ferreras Historia de Hispana, par. v. sec. xii.

though

though some historians call her the widow, of Don Nugno de Lara ^p. This is more particularly mentioned, because there is not the slightest hint in any ancient historian, that this monarch was in the least dissatisfied with his wife, or entertained any distaste of his son, but quite the contrary; so that if there was any thing in this transaction repugnant to morality or the laws of God, it must not be ascribed to the humour, appetite, or policy of Don Ferdinand, but to the pope's absolute will and pleasure, which, though a powerful and independent monarch, Don Ferdinand durst not resist.

A.D. 1176.

Don Alonso, king of Castile, no sooner found himself freed from the war of Navarre, by the reference to the king of England, which had been accepted by all parties, than he resumed his former intention of imitating his illustrious predecessors, by turning his arms against the infidels. With this view he caused great magazines to be erected at Toledo, where, having assembled a numerous army, and amongst them the flower of the several orders of knighthood, he marched into the enemies country, and laid siege to Cuenca, a place seated on the top of a hill, at the confluence of two little streams, which, after they have joined their waters, form the river Xeucax. Strong as this place was by situation, the Moors had rendered it much more so by labour and art; so that it held out till provisions were scarce in the Christian camp, and till the monarch of Morocco was apprised of the fidelity as well as the distress of his subjects, upon which, he directed levies to be made throughout all his dominions in Spain, for their relief ^q: the king of Castile, in this situation of things, thought it requisite for him to ask the assistance of Christian princes, upon which, his old ally, the king of Arragon, marched with a body of good troops, and joined him before Cuenca. The Moors advanced with their forces in order to raise the siege; but believing that too hazardous an undertaking, they made an irruption into the district of Toledo, and marched directly towards that capital, as if they meant to besiege it. The alcaides Don Gudiel and Don Alonso marching out with such forces as the city could raise, and giving them battle on the 28th of July, obtained a glorious victory: notwithstanding both these brave men fell in the field ^r. The garrison of

*King of
Castile
takes Cu-
enca, and
defeats the
Moors.*

^p Alphonſi a Carthagena, Reg. Hiſp. Anacephalæoſis, Roderic Santii Hiſt. Hiſpan. Franciſci Taraphæ de Reg. Hiſpaniæ.
^q Roderic Toletan. Hiſt. Arabum. ^r Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hiſpan. lib. vii. Lucæ Tudenſis Chron.

Cuenca, though now deprived of all hopes of relief, held out to the 21st of September, and did not even then surrender, but in consequence of a good capitulation*.

A.D. 1177. The king of Castile, to manifest his just sense of the friendship and service rendered him by the king of Arragon, released him from the homage due to the crown of Castile, for the city of Saragossa, and all the territory on that side the Ebro lying next his dominions†.

Forced by the king of Arragon to make peace with his uncle the king of Leon.

We are told by some historians, that while the king, Don Alonso, was employed in the siege of Cuenca, his uncle Don Ferdinand, king of Leon, invaded and made himself master of some of his dominions; an assertion which may be true, but is certainly very improbable. Upon this, the king of Castile, in conjunction with the king of Portugal, entered the dominions of Leon, and committed great outrages. The king, Don Ferdinand, encountered the infant Don Sancho, of Portugal, who intended to have besieged Ciudad Rodrigo, and totally defeated his army, but discovered great unwillingness to engage with his nephew, of whose proceedings he immediately complained to the king of Arragon, who had been guaranty of their last treaty. On the other hand, the king of Arragon sent two prelates, and a gentleman of his court, ambassadors to Castile, in order to demand of the king the castle of Ariza, and that he would forbear all hostilities against the king of Leon, threatening that, if he did not, he would join his own troops to those of his uncle‡; a circumstance which seems to render it certain that Don Ferdinand was not so much in the wrong as historians suppose him to be; and this conjecture is corroborated by the conduct of the king of Castile, who complied with his friend's request, by which the peace of Spain was once more restored, at least among the Christian powers, at a very critical juncture¶.

A.D. 1178.

The glorious victory of Santaren.

In order to strengthen that harmony which reigned at present between the two nations, Don Ferdinand, king of Leon, and Don Alonso of Castile, had an interview at Tordefillas, in order to remove all subjects of jealousy and dispute. About this time died Donna Theresa Lara, queen of Leon; and the year following, Don Ferdinand espoused Donna Urraca Lopez, the daughter of the count Don Lope de Aaro, one of the principal lords in the province of Biscay. The 20th of April was remarkable for the

* Roderic Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

† Chron. Var. Antiq.

‡ Chron. Var. Antiq.

¶ Ferraras Historia de Hispania, par.

v. léc. xii.

birth of Don Sancho, son to Don Alonso, king of Castile *. That monarch made for several years together, incursions into the territories of the Moors, with great success, and in one of them reduced Alarcon, by which Cuenca was so well covered, that he thought fit to erect it into a bishop's see †. About the same time Don Ferdinand, king of Leon, besieged and took Caceres from the infidels, so that it is evident, whenever the Christian princes were at peace amongst themselves, they never failed to carry the terror of their arms into the countries still subject to the Moors ‡. On the 24th of July, Don Ferdinand was likewise present, as an auxiliary to the king of Portugal, at the glorious victory of Santaren, when the whole force of the Moors, commanded by their monarch Joseph, was totally routed without fighting §. The death of that monarch by a fall from his horse just as the battle began, intimidated his subjects to such a degree, that they immediately quitted the field of battle to place all their safety in flight, which afforded the Christians an opportunity they did not neglect of quitting scores with the Moors, for their recent severities.

A.D. 1184.

Don Alonso of Castile had the next year the misfortune to be defeated by the Moors, in the neighbourhood of Sotillo in Estremadura, a disaster which however did not hinder his taking the field again in the succeeding spring. After having enriched his troops with a great booty, he returned triumphant, and went afterwards to an interview with the king of Arragon, with whom he concerted the means of continuing the peace which had already lasted for some years amongst the Christian powers, and of prosecuting the war against the Infidels, points which these two princes had equally at heart. Next year Don Alonso was in the field again, and made himself master of some small places; but his chief design seems to have been the security of his own dominions, by keeping the Moors in such a state of apprehension and distraction, as might hinder them from undertaking any thing to the prejudice of his territories.

Repeated expeditions of Don Alonso of Castile, against the Moors in Andalusia.

A.D. 1186.

A.D. 1187.

In the autumn of this year, Don Ferdinand, king of Leon, went to pay his devotions at the tomb of the apostle St. James †, in the church of Compostella; and at his re-

The death of Don Ferdinand of Castile.

* Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Ferreras Historia de Hispania, p. v. sec. xii. † Chron. Var. Antiq. ‡ Roderic Toletan. Hist. Arabum. § Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras. † Hist. Compostel.

turn to Benavente, which is ten leagues from Leon, found himself extremely indisposed: he lingered however through the remaining months of that year, and to the 21st day of January in the next, when he breathed his last, to the great regret of his subjects. Mariana says that he was fitter for the command of an army, than for the government of a kingdom^b: but if we consider his actions, we may, with equal reason, believe that there have been very few kings fitter for both; for he was a prince of great virtue and generosity, and as remarkable for piety as for valour. He left at his death three sons, Don Alonso by his first queen the infanta of Portugal, with whom, as the reader has seen, the pope forced him to part, and Don Sancho and Don Garcia, by Donna Urraca, who survived him. Mariana, and after him other historians, have suggested, that at the time of his decease, Don Alonso was on the point of flying into Portugal, being weary of the continual ill usage of his mother-in-law, who reflected on him for his mother's misfortune, and pretended to treat him as a bastard; but this is very improbable, since even these historians allow that his mother-in-law's hatred arose from his father's affection to him; neither does it appear that the pope pretended to bastardize the issue of those marriages, which he declared null on the score of consanguinity. The body of Don Ferdinand was buried in the cathedral of Saint James, near that of his mother Donna Berengara, and of his grandfather Don Raymond. His successor was present at the solemnity, and some days after went to pay a visit to his mother-in-law, with whom it appears that he was inclined to live at least upon fair terms, notwithstanding her intentions to deprive him of the succession, to place her son Don Sancho on the throne of Leon, and to bestow the crown of Galicia on Don Garcia, are said to have been generally known; so that the moderation of the young monarch deserved to be highly admired. But as he was universally acceptable to the people, and sure of support from the crown of Portugal, there seems to be good reason to doubt whether the queen Donna Urraca Lopez could ever entertain such notions, more especially considering the age of her children, and her having no protector capable of affording her the least degree of assist-

A.D. 1188.

^b Roderic Toletan, de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Alphonſi a Carthagena Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæſis Franciſci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. Hiſtoria general de Hiſpana, lib. xi.

ance towards the execution of such a design. It is therefore more than likely that these conjectures took rise from succeeding events, with which, when the reader is acquainted, he will be enabled to form a better judgment.

The king of Castile held this year the general assembly of the states of his kingdom at Carrion, to which, through a desire of expressing his great affection for his cousin, the king of Leon resorted: in that assembly, purely from a spirit of politeness and complaisance, he kissed the hand of the king of Castile as he took his seat. This salutation was afterwards wrested into an act of solemn homage, and was the true cause of that distaste which quickly succeeded to this superabundant kindness between these princes^c. Next year however they acted as confederates against the Moors, and with great success, recovered out of their hands abundance of places in Estremadura; not content with which acquisitions, they passed the Sierra Morena, and wasted all the territory of Seville with fire and sword to the sea-side. One would have imagined that nothing could have contributed more than the issue of this campaign, to convince the monarch of Castile of the expediency of living upon good terms with his cousin of Leon; yet this was so far from being the case, that it proved the cause of a rupture between them; for though the latter had shared in the danger and fatigue, yet the former kept all the conquests, though some of them, from their situation, were very convenient for his cousin, and of little consequence to him. This conduct was resented by Don Alonso of Leon, like a young man; for he immediately sought the friendship of the king of Portugal, with the same zeal that he shewed in embracing that of the king of Castile, and as the strongest proof of his sincerity, married the infanta Donna Theresa^d, who was his cousin german, by the mother's side, without reflecting on what had happened to his father.

Amongst other circumstances that contributed to inspire the king of Castile with unreasonable haughtiness, one was, that the emperor Frederick Barbarossa had concluded a treaty of marriage between his son prince Conrad, and the infanta Donna Berengara, daughter of the king of

*Don Alonso
IX. knighted
by the
king of
Castile.*

*Intended
marriage
between
Conrad, the
emperor's
son, and the
infanta Be-
rengara,
falls.*

^c Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Ferreras Historia de Hispana, p. v. sec. xii. ^d Roderic Toletan. Hist. Arabum, Annal Toletan. Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas,

Castile, and had sent the young prince into Spain, that their nuptials might be celebrated at Toledo^e. Don Alonso received him in that city with the utmost magnificence, and with all the marks of respect he could desire, signed the contract of marriage which had been before subscribed by the emperor, and made his intended son-in-law a knight. Yet after all this was done, the nuptials did not take place^f. Most of the Spanish historians^g, for the honour of their country, ascribe this miscarriage to the infanta's terror of so a long journey, a distaste to the climate of Germany, and a prejudice against the manners of the people: but Ferreras has assigned, if not a more certain, at least a much more probable cause: he observes, that Donna Eleonora, queen of Castile, was, during the stay of prince Conrad, brought to bed of the infant Don Ferdinand, which entirely spoiled the scheme of the German prince, who, as the king of Castile had no male issue living, expected to have succeeded him in the throne, in consequence of his marriage; of which event, perceiving that there was now little hopes, he took leave of the king, the queen, and the infanta, and returned into Germany. Soon after, the monarch of Castile presuming on his cousin's youth and his own great power, committed acts of hostility in the kingdom of Leon; of these the king of Arragon was no sooner informed, than he made an irruption into Castile; upon which Don Alonso turned his arms against him, but with very different success. By the interposition of the nobility and prelates of both kingdoms, the peace was quickly renewed, upon a promise that the king of Castile should do nothing to the prejudice of his cousin of Leon, whom, because he had injured, he hated.

Don Alonso, his queen, and four prelates excommunicated, and his marriage declared null. The pope's legate in Spain, cardinal Gregory, who was sent to promote peace amongst the Christian princes, gave a singular specimen of his abilities that way, by insinuating to the kings of Leon and Portugal, that the marriage of Don Alonso, with the infanta Donna Theresa, was void, and that therefore they ought to part; but none of the parties inclining to conform to this suggestion, he summoned a council at Salamanca^h, in which, the point was determined according to his desire. But the bishops

^e Alphonso a Carthagena Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis Franci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. ^f Roderic Toletan. de Reb.

Hispan. lib. vii.

^g Mariana Historia general de Hispan.

lib. xi.

^h Ferreras Historia de Hispan. p. v. sec. xii.

of Leon, Astorga, Salamanca, and Zamora, who did not assist at this council, protested against the decree, alleging, that marriages of this sort were not prohibited by the divine, or even by the ecclesiastical law, but by the civil, and for certain political reasons; and that therefore princes, who had a power of establishing this law, must likewise have the power of dispensing with it. The cardinal legate effectually refuted this doctrine, by excommunicating the four prelates, and threatening both the kingdoms of Leon and Portugal with an interdict; and very soon after he carried his threats into executionⁱ, which were attended with most dreadful consequences, the people in both kingdoms being extremely provoked at the obstinacy of the king of Leon, who, in spite of the express will and pleasure of the pope, would needs live with his wife. That monarch in vain sent the bishop of Zamora to Rome, to prevail upon the pope to remove the impediment as to the legality of his marriage; the pontiff would hear nothing upon that head, but at the earnest suit of the bishop took off his excommunication and the interdict, allowing divine service and the sacraments to be administered every where, except in the presence of the king and queen of Leon^k.

A.D. 1193.

Don Alonso, king of Castile, was all this while engaged in continual expeditions against the infidels. This very year he sent a potent army, under the command of Don Martin, archbishop of Toledo, into Andalusia, where he had acted with unexampled severity, destroying the corn and the vines, tearing the olive-trees up by the roots, putting multitudes of men, women, and children in chains, sweeping away all the cattle; and to complete this scene of destruction, laying every village and open town he passed through, in ashes. The report of these cruel proceedings was no sooner brought to Jacob Aben Joseph, king of Morocco, than he wrote a letter to the king Don Alonso, in which he expostulated on this new way of making war, in a manner barbarous beyond all example; to which Don Alonso gave so haughty an answer, that the Moor immediately published the *gacia*^l, which answers to our *croisade*, and insures to every Mussulman, who either kills a Christian, or is killed himself, a plenary

Archbishop of Toledo's expedition against the Moors, excites a war.

ⁱ Chron. Var. Antiq.

^k Lucæ Tundenfis Chron. Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

^l Roderic Toletan.

Hist. Arabum.

absolution from all his sins, and an immediate entrance into paradise. This called every man that was able to bear arms into the field, and the king of Morocco himself, coming over with a prodigious army from Africa, ordered a general rendezvous of the whole forces of his empire at Seville ^m. Don Alonso of Castile, upon this occasion, condescended to ask the assistance of the kings of Leon and Navarre, representing it as a war of religion, in which the common cause of all the Christians in Spain was at stake. As they were convinced of the truth of the fact, they did not enquire nicely into the cause, but readily promised him, not only all he asked, but that they would march, with all the forces of their respective kingdoms, to join him at Toledo. They began immediately to make the necessary levies for that purpose, not doubting that this confederacy would secure both his and their own dominions.

The king of Castile obliged to ask succours, and fights imprudently before he received them.

Jacob Aben Joseph found his army so numerous, that he was obliged to order part of them to rendezvous at Cordova, where having joined them with the rest of his forces from Seville, he entered the kingdom of Toledo, and encamped within sight of Calatrava and Alarcos, both places of great strength, which might have found employment for some time, even for his prodigious army ⁿ. But the king of Castile, who had assembled all his forces, advanced, without waiting for his allies, within a small distance of the enemy. The principal officers of his army suggested to him that he ought either to retreat in time, or fortify his camp, since both the kings of Leon and Navarre were within a few days march, and not adventure on a battle with such a vast disproportion of forces. But the king could not be brought to relish these wholesome counsels; he had treated the Moor with contempt, and to retire before him, he thought would be a perpetual disgrace; besides, he was unwilling to share the honour of a victory, and he looked upon his troops and himself as invincible. On the 18th of July, the two armies came in sight, at a small distance from the town of Alarcos, and the engagement quickly began. The Christians behaved with great intrepidity; but, after a warm and obstinate dispute, they were overborn by numbers ^o. Don Alonso perceiving that they began to give way, and apprehending the loss of that

^m Mayerne Turquet, *Histoire General de Espagne*, livr. x.
ⁿ Luc. Tudenfis Chronicon. ^o Roderic Toletan de Reb.
 Hispan. lib. vii.

high reputation which he had acquired, grew perfectly furious, and would have thrown himself into the midst of the enemy, but the nobility about his person restrained him, and carried him off by force ^p. The Moors upon this occasion gained one of the completest victories that history records ^q. There fell upwards of twenty thousand Castilians upon the spot, amongst whom was the flower of the nobility: the military orders, their camp and their baggage, fell likewise into the hands of the enemy, and the shattered remains of the army retreated with difficulty to Toledo, where they shut themselves up under cover of the extended fortifications.

Don Alonso had scarce entered this city, before the king of Leon arrived with a numerous army: he went immediately to visit his cousin, and mildly expostulated with him on the imprudence of his conduct. The Spanish historians, for the honour of their country, have unanimously suppressed the answer of the monarch of Castile; but it is nevertheless certain, that he endeavoured to throw that blame, which belonged wholly to himself, upon the two kings, and this in such coarse terms, that Don Alonso of Leon immediately quitted Toledo, and returned into his own dominions, ravaging those of Castile as he passed; and the monarch of Navarre followed his example. The king of Castile, having provided for the security of Toledo, repaired to Burgos, leaving Jacob Aben Joseph to make the best use of his victory. Accordingly he reduced Calatrava and Alarcos, though with some difficulty, and afterwards made a furious irruption into Portugal, where he murdered all the monks and ecclesiastics that fell in his way, and wasted all the country with inexpressible barbarity. As far as appears from the histories of these times, in which Don Roderic de Ximenes, then bishop of Sigüenza, and afterwards primate of Toledo, flourished, he met with little or no resistance; for the Christian princes were more intent on punishing the insolence of the king of Castile, than cautious in protecting their own dominions, which, how gross soever the provocation they had received might be, was beyond all doubt to the full as inexcusable. At length they were awakened from their lethargy, and began, though a little too late, to assemble

Consequences of his defeat at Alarcos, and insolent behaviour afterwards.

A.D. 1195.

^p Annal. Toletan. ^q Mariana Hist. General de España, lib. xi. Ferreras Historia de España, par. v. sect. xii. Mayerne Turquet.

their forces, and to provide for the chastisement of an enemy, who, in respect to them, had met with nothing that could justify the brutality of his behaviour.

Invades the kingdom of Leon, while his own dominions are ravaged by the Moors.

The kings Don Alonso of Leon, and Don Sancho of Portugal, no longer able to resist the importunities of their subjects, submitted to the papal decree, and the infanta Donna Theresa of Portugal, queen of Leon, returned home to her father, leaving behind her the two princesses, her daughters; and there is reason to believe, that this event threw the affairs of that kingdom into great disorder^r. This induced the king of Castile, who had now collected a great body of forces, to fall with him into the kingdom of Leon; though the Moors, with the miramamolín at their head, had actually invaded his own dominions. The infidels penetrated as far as Toledo, and remained ten days before that city, which, however, they found so well fortified, and the people so much disposed to make a vigorous resistance, that at length, loaded with pillage, and sated with revenge, they thought fit to retreat. In the mean time, Don Alonso of Castile took many places of small strength, in the kingdom of Leon, ruined one of the suburbs belonging to the capital, which was inhabited by Jews, and at last besieged the city of Astorga, but without effect; a disappointment which provoked him to such a degree, that he wasted all the open country with as little mercy as if he intended to copy, in his cousin's dominions, the dreadful lesson which had been set him by the infidels in his own. Having acted in this manner, he returned to Toledo, with an army laden with spoils taken from their fellow Christians, through a country miserably ruined by the infidels, merely for want of that defence which it was his and their duty to afford.

The Moors over-run the kingdom of Toledo.

It might be naturally apprehended that his own reflections, the advices of great and good men about him, joined to the clamours of the common people, which were loud, in proportion to the evils they had endured, must have wrought upon the mind of the king of Castile, and brought him back to a just sense of things. It happened however far otherwise; he spent the winter in negotiating with Don Pedro, king of Arragón, and prevailed upon him to send a strong corps of auxiliaries to assist in his next campaign, while the king of Leon on the other side was indefatigable in raising forces in Galicia to resist him;

^r Rod. Tol. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Lucæ Tudensis Chron.

so that it looked as if the Christian princes had acted in concert with the Moors, and had been bent upon each other's destruction *. In all probability this would have been accomplished, if the Moorish emperor, Joseph, had not taken the field with an army so numerous, as to threaten the conquest or destruction of the king of Castile's dominions; a circumstance which constrained that monarch to suspend his resentment against his cousin, that he might prevent the loss or total ruin of his own countries. He did not find himself in a condition, even with the succours of Arragon, to act offensively against the Moors; and experience had taught him not to hazard battles against armies so much more numerous than his own. He did therefore what it became him to do; he put stout garrisons into all the strong places in his territories, and kept himself in the mountains with a flying camp; precautions which prevented the Moor from taking any place of importance, though he attempted several; and at length, his army being much reduced by fatigues and sickness, was compelled to retire into Andalusia, with many slaves and much booty, but with diminished forces, and their reputation rather declining than increased †. So little did he profit by his important victory.

A.D. 1197.

As soon as his territories were delivered from the Moors, Don Alonso of Castile, having drawn out part of his garrisons, fell, with a potent army, into the dominions of Leon, where he took some places of no great strength, and ruined all the open country †. The king of Leon, having an army not at all inferior to his, marched towards him, with a design to give a check to his proceedings by a battle. The person upon whose advice and abilities he chiefly relied, was his cousin, Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, who dissuaded him from fighting. He observed that the event of a battle was in all respects uncertain, except one, which was the ruin of both parties, let the victory fall where it would, since the Moors were ready and waited to take the advantage. He proposed therefore a treaty, to which, though the king was backward, he found the nobility and prelates of Castile were unanimously inclined. He went therefore to Valladolid, in person, to negotiate with queen Eleanor, and having proposed a marriage between the infanta Donna Berengara, and Don

A peace concluded between the two kings of Castile and Leon.

* Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

† Annal. Toletan.

* Rod.

Alonso, king of Leon, the treaty was quickly concluded, and the marriage soon after solemnized in the same place, though the king of Castile was not present.

A.D. 1197.

The former concludes a peace also with the miramolin of Africa.

At the entrance of the ensuing year, the king of Castile found himself freed from all apprehensions of the Moors, by an application from their monarch, either for a peace or a long truce; the reason of which was, that his affairs had taken a wrong turn in Africa, where several of his governors had revolted, and set up for themselves. The king of Castile was not ignorant of this defection; and yet he acted as if he had been so; and concluded a peace with the Moorish prince, upon the very same terms, that might have been prudently accepted when he was in the full career of his victories^x: the reason of this conduct was, that the king of Castile meditated, in conjunction with the king of Arragon, to over-run the territories of the king of Navarre, who, from the sense he had of the implacable enmity of these two monarchs, had suffered himself to be strangely deceived by the Moorish emperor, who pretended to give him his daughter in marriage, and with her all his dominions in Spain^y. This war the two kings accordingly prosecuted, but with little success, though they had a great superiority, as will be shewn in another place.

Pope Innocent III. insists upon annulling the marriage of the king of Leon.

In the mean time, pope Innocent the Third, succeeding Celestin in the see of Rome, took umbrage at the marriage of the king of Leon, with his cousin the infanta of Castile. He sent peremptory instructions to his nuncio to part them, and, if they refused to part, to put the kingdoms of Castile and Leon under the censures of the church. The nuncio, less violent or more afraid than his master, gave time for the two kings to send their ambassadors to Rome, in order to pacify, if possible, this haughty successor of St. Peter^z; but the pope remained fixed to his point, and sent fresh orders for separating the king and queen, or for putting all the churches in Castile and Leon under an interdict; the very thoughts of which, it was well known, would terrify the common people almost to madness, and consequently expose the state to such dangers, as were most likely to fright, even crowned heads, into obedience^a. The arms of Castile were this year more successful in Navarre, the king of that realm being absent

A.D. 1198.

^x Lucæ Tudenfis Chron. Pap. Innocent III. lib. i. par. v. sect. xii.

^y Morales, Ferreras. ^z Epist. ^a Ferreras Historia de Hispan.

in Africa. They had reduced the city of Victoria, and some other places of importance, to a state of such distress, that a kind of provisional capitulation was made, dependent upon the orders of the king of Navarre for their surrender, which orders soon after arrived, that monarch being at this time in no condition to vindicate his own rights, or to defend those of his subjects; a circumstance which left it in the power of Don Alonso to gratify his ambition in a very extensive degree^b; so that this ancient and once powerful kingdom was reduced within a hair's-breadth of destruction.

The satisfaction he derived from thence must have been very much heightened, by an honourable event, in respect to his family, which fell out soon after, and which, for some particular reasons, we are obliged to represent at large. John, king of England, finding himself under the necessity of making a disadvantageous peace with Philip, king of France, his mother, queen Eleanor, contrived to lessen the discredit of this transaction, by a very singular expedient, which she no sooner proposed, than it was by all parties very readily embraced. According to her scheme, the places conquered by France were to be restored to her son, who was then to make a voluntary cession of them, as the dowry of his niece, the infanta Donna Blanca, or, as the French call her, Blanche, who was to marry prince Lewis, heir apparent of the crown of France; and to carry all this into execution, she offered to go herself into Spain, to fetch the young princess. Upon her arrival at the court of Castile, she was received by Don Alonso, her son-in-law, and by her daughter, queen Eleanor, with all possible marks of respect and affection. Her proposal being readily accepted, the young princess was put into her hands, whom she carried to her son, the king of England, in Normandy, where the peace being signed upon the 22d of May, the marriage was celebrated on the 23d, at a place called Purmor, in that duchy, the ceremony being performed by the archbishop of Bourdeaux. The marriage being thus concluded, the young princess was conducted to the court of her father-in-law, there to be brought up, till such time as herself and her spouse should be of a fit age to consummate^c.

*The infanta
Donna
Blanca es-
pouse
prince
Lewis of
France.*

A.D. 1200.

^b P. Moret Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra.

^c Rog. Hoveden. Annal. P. Daniel Hist. de France, vol. iii. p. 481.

*Firth of
Ferdinand,
afterwards
king of
Castile and
Leon.*

The same year Don Alonso, king of Leon, had, by the infanta Donna Berengara, his son Ferdinand; who was baptized with great solemnity in the cathedral church of Leon, to the great joy of both courts ^d. About this time, the disputes between the king of Leon and his mother-in-law produced a kind of rupture; for the late king Ferdinand, having bestowed upon her some fortresses of great importance to the safety of his dominions, Don Alonso did not think it consistent either with his dignity or interest, to leave them any longer in her hands, and therefore demanded them ^e. On the other hand, the queen dowager Donna Urraca, by the advice and with the assistance of her brother Don Diego Lopez, fortified them; and that nobleman also applied to the king of Castile, in hopes that he would have interposed with his son-in-law, to prevent things from coming to extremities. But that monarch, either judging the thing in itself unreasonable, or being unwilling to take part in any thing against his son-in-law, rejected this demand; and the places not long after were taken by the king of Leon; a circumstance which so highly provoked Don Diego Lopez, that he retired to his own estates, exceedingly exasperated against both kings, and consequently disposed, whenever any occasion should offer, to sacrifice his duty to his resentment. Such was the situation of things in Spain at the opening of the thirteenth century, when the Christians were indeed become more potent than in former times, but were as little united as ever.

*Kings of
Castile and
Leon join
their forces
against
Don Diego
Lopez de
Haro.*

Don Alonso of Castile was extremely provoked at this haughty behaviour in one for whom he had done so much, and for whose sake he had disoblighed so many; but his resentment, in some measure, received a justification from Don Diego's wasting his country, as soon as he found himself safe in Navarre, with a considerable body of desperate people who had followed his fortunes. His insurrection became in a short time so formidable, that the king of Castile requested the assistance of his son-in-law to reduce him; accordingly both princes took the field, at the head of a numerous army. Don Diego had not forces sufficient to give them battle; but having fortified Estella in Biscay, and provided it with all things necessary to sustain a siege, after harassing the royal armies in the field, he gradually

^d Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii.
tan, Luca Tudenfis Chronicon.

^e Annal. Tole-

withdrew his forces thither. The two kings invested the place, and battered it with great fury, and as soon as the breaches were practicable, made repeated assaults, but to no purpose; so that in the end they were constrained to raise the siege^f. About this time, the kings of Castile and Arragon concluded a truce for three years with the king of Navarre, in order more at leisure to negotiate a peace. A.D. 1201.

The steadiness shewn by Don Alonso, king of Leon, in keeping his queen, contrary to the decrees of pope Innocent III. so provoked that zealous head of the church, that he laid the kingdom of Leon under an interdict, upon which a schism arose, some of the bishops adhering to the king, and some to the pope^g: but the king of Castile prevented this thunder from falling on the heads of his subjects, by declaring that he was ready to receive the infanta, his daughter, whenever the king of Leon should think fit to send her home. While things continued in this state, queen Eleanor of Castile was brought to bed of a son, on the 14th of April; and not long after, the king and queen of Leon resolved to separate. A.D. 1204.

The king of Leon obliged to part with his second queen, by the pope.

The pope, in consideration that the marriage was entered into, and consummated on both sides with sincere and laudable intentions, declared the children legitimate: these were the infants Ferdinand and Alonso, and the infantas Eleonora, Constantia, and Berengara. As for the dowry which had been settled by the king of Leon, the infanta Berengara generously gave it up. All these great points being adjusted, Alonso, king of Castile, threw in a proposition, too weighty and too reasonable to be rejected; this was, that the infant Don Ferdinand, his daughter's eldest son, should, in case of his brother's demise, be declared heir apparent of the kingdom of Leon. An assembly of the estates was accordingly called, who unanimously swore to the succession; then queen Berengara returned to her father's court, leaving all her children at that of the king her husband^h. Thus, through the pious application of the papal power, Don Alonso was once more declared a single man, though with two wives living, and six or seven children.

At the time of concluding the truce between the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, Don Diego Lopez de Haro was restored to his old master's favour, who also in-

Which occasions a war.

^f P. Moret Investigaciones Histor. de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra. ^g Morales, Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. Var. Antiq. ^h Luc. Tudens. Chron.

terceded for him with the king of Leon. The great military skill which he had shewn in defending Estella, had its merit even with those monarchs, against whom he defended it; and they could not help esteeming and admiring the courage and conduct of this nobleman, though exerted against them. The case is singular enough to deserve notice; but besides this, it is necessary that we should have an idea of the character of Don Diego. It is uncertain whether he commanded in that war, which, at the solicitation of Philip Augustus of France, Don Alonso, king of Castile, carried on in Aquitaine against king John of England, of the reality of which we cannot doubt, though passed over in silence by the English and French historians; since we find it recorded by two grave Spanish prelates, who lived in those timesⁱ. The birth of the infant Don Henry might possibly lessen the respect which had been hitherto paid by Don Alonso of Castile to the king of Leon; and this was still more diminished upon his sending back his daughter, though with her own consent, and with great reluctance on the part of that king. That this was really the case, appears from the refusal of the Castilian governors to surrender the places assigned for the queen's dower, which she had relinquished by an act of her own, and this act confirmed by the pope^k. The king of Leon resenting this refusal, attempted to reduce them by force, a circumstance which gave beginning to a war that lasted for three years, but with the interposition of some truces: at this period, his affairs making it necessary, the king of Castile shewed a desire of peace, and that it might be well kept, left the terms of it to the king of Leon. This reference afforded that monarch an opportunity of shewing, that, when he parted with his queen, he did not part with his affections for her. He had stipulated the delivery of the places in question, and he had made a war to acquire them; now he was left to dictate the peace, he consented that the best part of them should remain as they were, and that the infanta Donna Berengara should enjoy the revenue. About this time, the king of Castile gave his second daughter Donna Urraca in marriage to the infant Don Alonso, prince of Portugal; and at the request of Don Roderic Ximenes, the historian, founded an university at Palencia, which in the succeeding reign was, as some say, transferred to Salamanca.

A.D. 1205.

A.D. 1208.

ⁱ Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Luc. Tudens. Chron.
^k Chron. Var. Antiq.

The truce was now on the point of expiring, which the king of Castile had concluded with the miramamolin, and it was this consideration that made Don Alonso so extremely solicitous to put an end, not only to the wars, but to the quarrels and disputes amongst the Christian princes in Spain. It was with this view, that he prevailed once more with the kings of Arragon and Navarre to meet him; and the great generosity he shewed in abandoning several places of great importance to the last of these princes, had an extraordinary good effect; so that at length they parted perfectly good friends, with mutual promises of assistance and support against the Moors¹. Things being thus settled, Don Roderic Diaz, grand-master of the order of Calatrava, for so it was still called, though the place was in the hands of the Moors, made an irruption into their territories, and by taking several places began the war. Next year, the infant Don Ferdinand received the order of knighthood with great ceremony, in the cathedral church of Burgos, that he might be qualified, according to the notions of those times, to take the field ^m with his father against the infidels; who, while they were preparing to resist the Castilians, found themselves suddenly attacked by the king of Arragon, who made this summer some conquests at their expence. Don Alonso of Castile did not take the field till the following spring; and then, with a numerous and gallant army, advanced as far as Alcala; which place, when he had reduced, he proceeded next to over-run the best part of the kingdom of Murcia, in which he met with no considerable resistance, till the extreme heat of the season obliged him to retireⁿ. Mohammed, then king of Morocco, had assembled a numerous body of troops in Andalusia, and having passed the Sierra Morena, invested Salvatierra, the residence for the present of the knights of Calatrava. Though the town was not very strong, the knights defended it so well, that they had time to give Don Alonso notice of their distress. The infant Don Ferdinand was sent with a very strong detachment to make an irruption into the Moorish territories on the side of Estremadura, a service which he performed very gallantly, but it did not produce what was expected, the miramamolin persisting in the siege; so that the prince returned to his father's camp in the month of August, and

This, with some difficulty, ended, and a new one breaks out with the Moors.

A.D. 1216.

¹ P. Moret, Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra. ^m Chron. Var. Antiq. Morales. ⁿ Annal. Toletan. Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hisp. hb. vii.

the place having no other relief to expect, was surrendered in the ensuing month. This event certainly chagrined the king of Castile not a little; but an event which followed soon after affected him much more. The royal infant, either over-fatigued by the operations of the campaign, or from some other cause, fell ill of a fever soon after his return with his father to Madrid, of which he died October 14, A. D. 1211, to the universal sorrow, not only of his parents and the court, but of the whole nation in general ^q.

A prodigious army assembled by the miramamolin against the Christians.

The king could not allow himself much time to grieve, as he had certain and indisputable intelligence, that the miramamolin, having pacified the troubles in Barbary, had brought the whole force of his empire together, with an intention to conquer the kingdom of Toledo, at least. Being sensible, from experience, that the power of Castile was by no means capable of supporting him against such an enemy, he sent the bishop elect of Segovia to Rome ^p, the archbishop Don Roderic, and other bishops, into France, while he himself managed a conference with the kings of Arragon and Navarre, in which he obtained from them all that he could desire or expect ^q. Don Sancho, king of Portugal, dying about this time, was succeeded by his son Don Alonso ^r, who involving himself in some disputes with the king of Leon, the monarch of Castile could not promise himself much help from either of those princes, with the want of which, however, he might dispense, since multitudes inrolled themselves for this holy war in France, Italy, and Germany, the pontiff at Rome using the same methods to excite Christians in all places to enter into the Spanish war, as in other croisades, and with much better reason.

A. D. 1212.

The monarchs of Spain have recourse to a croisade for their defence.

The rendezvous of the Christian troops was appointed at Toledo, about Easter; but it was a considerable time before so numerous an army, and that too composed of so many different nations and languages, could be brought into any tolerable order. Don Pedro, king of Arragon, with the forces under his command, arrived on Trinity Sunday; the foreigners followed in a little time; and to prevent the inconveniences that must have happened, if they had been admitted into the city, all these forces were encamped in the field, as soon as they arrived; a precaution which did not, however, hinder the foreign-

^p Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. ^p Annal Tolet. Epist. Innocent III. ^q Zureta. Annal. Arragon. ^r Frandzon.

ers from falling upon the Jews in the suburbs, and committing many other irregularities, which cost the king of Castile a great deal of trouble to correct^s. At last, on the 20th of June, the army began to move: the Ultramontans or foreigners, from beyond the Pyrenees, had the van, composed of ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, under the command of Don Diego Lopez de Haro; the king of Castile and the king of Arragon moved next, but in separate bodies, that they might not incommode each other; the rest of the army formed a rear-guard, and took post upon the frontiers^t. The first place that felt the weight of their arms was Malagon, which the foreigners took by storm, and put all the Mohammedans therein to the sword. The next place they attempted was Calatrava, in which there was a very good garrison, commanded by the alcaides Abenaliz and Almoad, officers of great reputation, who lost none of it by their behaviour upon this occasion. The town, notwithstanding, being attacked on all sides, was quickly taken by assault; but the Moorish generals retired into the citadel, in which being strong and well supplied, they made a gallant defence: at length they offered to surrender, on condition that they should have leave to retire where they pleased, which the foreigners violently opposed, professing, that they meant to give no quarter to any infidels: but the kings of Castile and Arragon were of another mind: they knew the importance of the place, and of the magazines which were in it, and therefore they readily signed the capitulation; and Don Diego Lopez de Haro, with his own troops, escorted the Moors till such time as they arrived in a place of safety. The strangers were so much offended at this instance of moderation, that, pretending they were not able to endure the heats which began to come on, they decamped with their forces, in spite of all the solicitations and prayers of the Christian monarchs, and marched back towards Toledo, the troops under Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne, and Thibaud Blacon, only excepted^u.

This loss, though it diminished, did not discourage the Christian army, or the kings who commanded it, and who soon after attacked and reduced Alarcos, and other small places. While they were thus employed, the king of Arragon received a considerable reinforcement, which gave the army fresh spirits; and before their rejoicings on this

Gaia some small places in their march towards the Moorish army.

^s Chron. Var. Antiqu. ^t Luc. Tudens. Chron. Annal Tolet.
^u Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hisp. lib. viii. Chron. Var. Antiqu.

subject were over, Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, with most of the nobility of his kingdom, and a very gallant corps of troops, joined them likewise; upon which, being again in motion, they advanced to Salvatierra, where they made a general review of the army, and resolved to march on towards the enemy, notwithstanding the desertion of the foreigners. This resolution was, indeed, very gallant and heroic, but at the same time extremely hazardous, as they had that rugged ridge of mountains, styled the Sierra Moréna, to pass, before they could reach the infidels, who they knew waited for them, and would be sure to give them all the trouble that was possible in their passage. The Moorish monarch Mohammed, who, from his wearing a turbant of that colour, had acquired the surname of the Green, acted through this campaign like an able general, and an officer of great experience. He had drawn together his forces, early, in the neighbourhood of Jaen, amounting to fourscore thousand excellent horse, and a body of troops so numerous, that no historian has ventured upon a calculation. He advanced slowly, as he heard of the progress of the Christians, resolved not to waste his forces in skirmishes, or to venture a general and decisive engagement, before the fatigue of the several sieges and the usual heats should have abated the ardour of the enemy. At length he took post at Baeza, marked out the field of battle at his leisure, and caused all the narrow passes in the mountains to be occupied by strong detachments, with express orders to his officers to maintain their respective posts as long as it was possible; so that, all things considered, it seemed almost an impracticable project for the Christian army to reach that of the Moors, and still more impracticable to defeat troops more numerous than their own, that had served long, and with great reputation, fresh, well supplied with every thing, and in posts of their own choosing, and of consequence very advantageous.

*Pass the
Sierra
Moréna
by a route
never till
then
known, and
styled the
Royal Pa-
sage ever
since.*

The Christian army arrived at the foot of the Sierra on Thursday the 12th of July, when a small corps of troops, under the command of Don Diego Lopez, after a brisk dispute, possessed themselves of the pass of Muradal, and the next day, after an obstinate resistance, drove the Moors from some of the eminences about it; but perceiving that the pass was very narrow, of a considerable length, and the enemy in a condition to cut them off as fast as they appeared at the opening on the other side, they judged it impossible to pursue their design, and at the same

same time could not bear the thoughts of returning to Toledo, without seeing an enemy. In this distressed situation, a person altogether unknown, but who, from his appearance, seemed to be a shepherd, desired to speak with the kings, and after some importunity was conducted into their presence. He proposed to shew them a passage hitherto very little known, which never had been passed by any army, through which they might march without difficulty, and at the same time without being observed by the Moors. The monarchs were very desirous of accepting so seasonable an offer; but at the same time afraid to trust to a guide whom nobody knew. At length, Don Diego Lopez and Don Garcia Romero, offered to follow him with a corps of troops, and he led them according to his promise, by a winding passage, which has ever since born the name of the Royal Passage, to the summit of the mountains, where they found a fair and spacious plain, where the whole army might be ranged conveniently in order of battle.

On Saturday the 14th of July, the Christian army, in consequence of this happy discovery, took possession of the plain before mentioned, and disposed their troops in proper order: the Moors were infinitely surprised when they beheld them in so advantageous a situation; but as soon as they had recovered themselves a little, neglected nothing that might have provoked them to fight immediately: but in this aim they were disappointed; for the Christians having secured the advanced posts, and provided in the most effectual manner, in case of an attack, rested that day and the next, which they spent in devotion. On the 16th, in the morning, the whole army was disposed in order of battle; the right wing was commanded by the king of Navarre, who, besides his own forces, had some battalions of Castilian troops, the foreigners under the archbishop of Narbonne, and the volunteers; the king of Arragon and his forces were on the left; Don Alonzo of Castile in the centre, his troops being divided into four brigades, the first commanded by Don Diego Lopez de Haro, the second by Don Gonzalez de Lara, in which were the troops of the military orders; the third by Don Roderic Diaz, composed of the flower of the Castilian nobility; the last was under the king in person, who had about him all the prelates, and the whole force of the kingdom of Toledo. The Moors were likewise disposed in very exact order, and in the centre the choicest troops were covered by a strong barricade of iron chains; the miramamolin

The glorious victory of Toledo, which entirely breaks the power of the Moors.

was

was there in person, dressed in a rich robe, with the Koran in one hand, and a sabre in the other. The battle was begun by Don Diego Lopez de Haro, and soon after both the wings engaged. This attack was made with all imaginable vigour, and the Moors received them with the utmost intrepidity. The dispute continued long, without any sensible variation of fortune; but the losses of the Moors being continually supplied with fresh troops, the Christians began to lose ground in every part of the line *. The Moors perceiving them falter, made a great effort, which had a very sensible impression. Don Alonso of Castile cried out, there was nothing now left, but to secure the honour of the nation, by dying gloriously; and was on the very point of throwing himself into the thickest of the enemy, if the archbishop Roderic of Toledo, and Don Ferdinand Garcia, had not restrained him *. The latter told him things were not yet desperate, if he did not make them so by precipitation, and advised him to support his retiring troops by seasonable and well disposed supplies. This advice had its effect; the Christians, having recovered their spirits, pushed the infidels in their turn, broke them, and advanced to the barricade of iron chains, where things were in danger of taking a new turn, the infantry being unable to do any thing: but the king of Navarre, at the head of his own cavalry, attacking them in full career, with a desperate resolution, leaped the barricade, and having driven the Moors from their first posts, opened a passage for the Castilians. It was then no longer a battle, but a carnage. The miramamolín, by the persuasion of his brother, quitted the field; and the Christians pursuing their flying enemies, continued the slaughter till it was night: the army then took possession of the enemies camp; and the archbishop of Toledo, assisted by all the bishops and ecclesiastics, sung Te Deum. Next day, Don Diego Lopez de Haro made a distribution of the spoils, and gave almost the whole to the auxiliaries and strangers, telling the Castilians, that they were sufficiently rewarded by the victory itself, since all the advantages derived from it would be their's; and, which is not a little singular, his conduct met with universal applause. The Moors lost upon the field, and in the pursuit, two hundred thousand men; the Christians, if we may believe archbishop Roderic, but twenty-five, and only

* Eoist Reg. Adeophonf. ad Innocent III.
de Reb. Hispan. lib. viii. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

* Rod. Tolet.

one hundred and fifty in the course of the whole campaign (F).

After the army had rested three days, they resumed their progress, and reduced all the country as far as Baeza, which they found abandoned, and without inhabitants, except a number of infirm and aged people, who had taken shelter in the great mosque, to which the Christians cruelly set fire¹. They marched from thence to Ubeda, a place of strength, to which the remains of the Moorish army, and most of the inhabitants of Baeza had retired, and to which the Christians laid siege. They met there with a stubborn and obstinate resistance; yet on the side of the Arragonian attack, things were pushed so far, that the besieged offered a million of crowns, by way of ransom²; but the prelates persisting in opposing all capitulations, the besieged found their safety in despair, behaving afterwards with such desperate resolution, that famine and diseases breaking into the camp, all the three monarchs concurred in opinion, that the only proper step to be taken was, to raise the siege, which they abandoned accordingly. Having put strong garrisons into their new conquests, they repassed the mountains, and continued their march to Cala-

Consequences attending this memorable battle, and return of the kings of Arragon and Navarre.

¹ Chron. Var. Antiq.

² Zureta, Annal. Arragon.

(F) The date of this battle is fixed with great certainty by the unanimous consent of historians, to Monday, July 16, A. D. 1212: as to the place, there is not, as we have observed, the same concurrence. Some style it the battle of Muradal, from the pass of that name, through the Sierra Morena; others the battle of Loça, from a great rock of that name; but it is most commonly known by the title of the battle of Tolofo, from a little town of that name, in the open country, beyond the mountains. The quantity of spears, javelins, and arrows, found upon the field, was so great, that they served the Christian forces for two days, as few for dressing their provisions, though

during that space they burnt nothing else. The value of the spoil was immense, as we may guess from the number of hories, which are said to have amounted to thirty-five thousand; but the most signal advantage of all was, the breaking the power of the miramamolín, which revived that spirit of independency natural to the Spanish Moors, put them upon revolting, setting up separate principalities, and destroying each other, which made their total expulsion a work much easier to the Christians than otherwise it would have been, and opened a way also to the declension of this dynasty in Africa, which weakened the Mohammedan power in general.

trava^a: there they met the duke of Austria, with a great number of troops coming to their assistance, who, finding their campaign over, joined his forces to those of the king of Arragon, who here took leave of Don Alonso of Castile, in order to return into his own dominions. Don Alonso, accompanied by Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, proceeded to Toledo, which they entered in triumph; and at the departure of the last mentioned monarch, Don Alonso, as a mark of his gratitude and esteem, restored to him fifteen of the most considerable places that he had taken during the long war: he also instituted an annual festival on the 16th of July, which was styled the Triumph of the Holy Cross; and it was long kept with great solemnity, through both the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, in memory of an event which, in a great measure, determined the fate of the Moors in Spain.

Don Alonso's sacrifices in order to settle a lasting peace with the king of Leon.

While Don Alonso of Castile was employed in this important war, the troops of the king of Leon, under the command of Don Pedro Fernandez, recovered all the places that had been conquered by the Castilians. He afterwards turned his arms against Portugal, where the king, Don Alonso, was labouring to dispossess his sisters, one of which was Donna Theresa, once queen of Leon, of the places which his father had left them by his testament for their subsistence. It was at the request of these distressed princesses, that the king of Leon made a diversion in their favour, offering, however, to retire, if Don Alonso of Portugal would desist from his enterprize: but that king, who from his infancy hated his brothers and sisters, marched against him with a superior army, and forced him to battle, in which, however, the king of Leon was victorious, and would perhaps have availed himself in another manner of his success, if the apprehensions of being attacked by the king of Castile had not withheld him. Don Alonso of Castile behaved upon this occasion with great magnanimity; for, instead of committing any hostilities, he invited him to Valladolid, and there, in a personal conference, convinced him of the necessity of their living upon good terms, in order to which, he not only relinquished all the places he had taken, but gave him several others which he knew he much desired, together with the castles of Carpio and Monreal, in the territory of Salamanca, upon condition that they should be demolished^b; so that the king of Leon

^a Chron. Var. Antiq.
lib. viii. Lucæ Tudens. Chron.

^b Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan.

left him in sentiments of the most perfect friendship. Don Alonso of Castile thought a secure peace very cheaply purchased by these sacrifices, being desirous only of extending his dominions at the expence of the Moors, and by making a proper use of the great advantage he had gained. It was with this view that he stipulated with the king of Leon, as an equivalent for the concessions he had made, that he should restore to the king of Portugal the places he had taken from him, and conclude a peace with that monarch upon fair and equal terms^c. Upon this peace, the infant Don Pedro of Portugal, perceiving that he had no Christian court to which he could fly, and dreading the implacable disposition of the king his brother, retired to the miramamolin. On the other hand, that monarch, perceiving how much he was lessened in the opinion of his subjects by his late defeat, went over to Africa, where he passed the remainder of his days under that cloud which usually attend sovereigns that are unfortunate^d.

Don Alonso of Castile took the field again early next year, with a competent army, and having reduced Duegnos, at the foot of the Sierra Morena, and some other places, soon after invested Alcaños, where the Moors had a good garrison; but the king continued before it so long, and took such precautions for supplying his troops with provisions, that at length, on the 22d of May, the place was surrendered. After putting a strong garrison into it, the king returned in triumph to St. Torcaz, where he met his queen, with the infant Don Henry, his daughter queen Berengara, and her two sons Don Ferdinand and Don Alonso, and there kept his Witsuntide^e.

As Don Alonso of Leon had made no diversion in favour of the king of Castile this campaign, and as, upon application to him next year, he excused his slowness from his defect of cavalry, Don Diego Lopez de Haro was sent to him with six hundred excellent horse. By the assistance of these and his own infantry, he made himself master of Alcantara^f, and would have taken some other places, if the extreme heat of the weather had not obliged him to put his troops into quarters of refreshment. This was a great disappointment to the king of Castile, who thereby lost the opportunity of taking Baeza, which the Moors had re-peopled and fortified, and which he besieged for

The infant Don Ferdinand heir of Leon, dies unexpectedly.

^c Annal Toletan. Reb. Hispan. lib. viii.

^d Brandaon.

^e Roderic Toletan de Chron. Var. Antiq.

A.D 1214

three months, till sickness and famine obliged him to retire^h. Soon after the return of the king of Leon from his campaign, his heir apparent, the infant Don Ferdinand, whom he had by Donna Theresa of Portugal, died, and was buried in the cathedral church of St. James at Compostella, near the remains of Don Ferdinand of Castile, his grandfather. This accident exceedingly afflicted his parents, and might well excuse the king his father, for not making an autumn campaign. About this time the archbishop Roderic of Toledo finished his fortress of Milagro, now known by the name of Almagro, the capital of one of the districts in the province of La Mancha, into which he put a competent garrison to restrain the incursions of the Moors. He had hardly taken this precaution before it was besieged by an army of five thousand horse and foot, under the command of a Moorish officer of great reputation; but the prelate, its founder, took such care to supply the place with all kinds of necessaries, that at length, not without great loss, the enemy found themselves obliged to raise the siege and to retire.

*Death of
Don Alonso
king of
Castile,
at a very
critical
conjunc-
ture.*

The king, Don Alonso of Castile, being still very solicitous about the affairs of his cousin the king of Leon, and apprehensive that he did not clearly comprehend what considerable acquisitions might be made to his own territories, by entering heartily into a war with the Moors, invited him to an interview at Placentiaⁱ. This invitation was as readily accepted as proposed; but in his journey thither, Don Alonso of Castile was attacked by a malignant fever, of which he died at a little village on the 5th or 6th of August, in the year 1214^k. He had the comfort of having his queen, and most of his children about him, as well as the archbishop Don Roderic and several other prelates, in his last moments. By his will he appointed the queen-dowager Eleonora, regent, during the minority of her son; but this provision, though very prudent, did not avail much, since she also died in the month of October the same year; in which also expired the two greatest men in Castile and Leon, Don Diego Lopez de Haro, and Don Pedro Fernandez^l. Such a series of unexpected events had, as the reader will easily conceive, a very great effect on the minds of the people, and made way for those troubles and disturbances that

^h Annal Toletan. Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon.

ⁱ Annal Toletan. ^k Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. viii. Lucæ Tudenf. Chron.

^l Annal Compostel. & Toletan.

very speedily ensued, and of which, if they had been under any settled form of government, and had acted with any proper degree of prudence, the Moors would certainly have availed themselves more than they did (G).

Don Henry, the young king of Castile, was in the eleventh year of his age, and having lost his mother in two months after his father, the regency, according to the direction of the king's testament, devolved on the queen Donna Berengara, with the general satisfaction of the whole kingdom; the counts of Lara, Don Ferdinand, Don Alvaro, and Don Gonzales only excepted. They were desirous of getting the person of the king into their hands; and in a short time, by insinuations of various kinds, drew many of the nobility, from motives of interest, into their notions. The great difficulty was, how to bring their scheme to bear; and it was in the management of this that they shewed themselves consummate politicians. They corrupted a servant, who was much in the confidence of that princess, who persuaded her, that the nobles in general were highly displeased that, since they had a child for their king, the care of that child should be confined solely to a woman; and that, therefore, out of respect to the king's safety and her own, the wisest thing she could possibly do was to call an assembly of the states, and leave the choice of a regent to them¹. She did so, and by the intrigues of the faction, Don Alvaro de Lara was chosen, under various restrictions, which, when he had taken an oath punctually to observe, the young king was delivered to his care, in order to his receiving a proper education. But no sooner was the assembly dissolved, than Don Alvaro broke through all the restrictions, governed with a rod of iron, and not only trampled on the liberties of the laity, but infringed likewise on the immunities of the clergy^m. His politics were

Henry succeeds his father in that kingdom in the eleventh year of his age.

A.D. 1215.

¹ Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. viii. Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Chron. S. Fernand.

^m Annal Toletan.

(G) This great monarch was, to speak correctly, Alonso the Third, of Castile, for though, after the union of the two kingdoms under his grandson, Don Ferdinand, the succeeding kings, were reckoned in the order of those of Leon, so that his successor was styled

Don Alonso the Tenth, and not Don Alonso the Fourth; yet this manner of computing did not, or could not take place before. He was, at the time of his demise, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the fifty-sixth of his reign.

of a very extraordinary kind; for, in this first year of his regency, he contrived to secure an influence over the king, for life, by marrying him to the infanta Donna Mafalda of Portugal, and with this view, leaving the king to the care of some of his friends in whom he could confide, he went in person to the court of Portugal to negotiate this marriage. In this project some writers say that he succeeded; and it is on all hands agreed, that the court of Portugal came into it, and that the young princess was sent into Spain; but the pope interposed, at the request of the nobility, and by his influence over the prelates caused the infanta to be sent back into Portugal, where she became a nunⁿ. Mariana says, that when the count Don Alvaro found it impossible to make her a queen, he would have made a merit of his endeavours in order to have espoused her himself, but that the young princess rejected his offer with contempt^o.

*The regent
Don Al-
varo de
Lara in-
curs uni-
versal ha-
tred.*

As ecclesiastics generally bear ill treatment with less temper than other people, so, upon Don Alvaro's making free with the revenues of the church of Toledo, the dean of that cathedral, without ceremony, excommunicated him, a step which quickly obliged him to make satisfaction. In order to appease the nation in general, he called an assembly of the states at Valladolid, at which the king and his sister Donna Berengara assisted; but the disputes rose to such a height, and the behaviour of Don Alvaro was so imperious, that the queen, Donna Berengara, thought proper to retire to the fortress of Autillo, and was followed thither by some of the nobility of the first families in Castile. The regent was very little concerned at their secession; but when he afterwards understood that the king himself was inclined to take the same route, he carried the young prince, under pretence of visiting his dominions, first to Segovia, then to Avila, and at length to Maqueda, in the kingdom of Toledo, where he kept him several months, and oppressed all the country in the neighbourhood to such a degree, that an insurrection had almost ensued^p.

*The young
king, Don
Henry,
killed by
the fall of
a tile upon
his head.*

To stifle these, or at least to turn them from himself upon those who opposed him, Don Alvaro took a very bold step. He discovered that the queen Donna Berengara had sent a person very secretly to her brother, to en-

ⁿ Chron. S. Fernand. Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. viii.
Lucæ Tudenf. Chronicon. ^o Historia General de España,
lib. xii. ^p Chron. Var. Antiq.

quire after his health, to learn how he was used. This gentleman he seized, hanged him without any judicial process, and then produced a counterfeit letter from the queen, which he confidently insinuated contained instructions to poison the young king^a. The scheme was well laid, though it did not take effect; for the archbishop of Toledo, and the people in general, instead of charging the queen with poisoning, charged him with forgery; and that so loudly, and with so little ceremony, that he found it necessary to shift his quarters, and to carry the king to Hueta^r. He afterwards went from thence to Valladolid, where he assembled forces, and summoned Donna Berengara and the lords of her party to surrender all the places they held, upon pain of being treated as rebels. This citation laid them under great difficulties; for though they were ready to defend themselves against the regent, and put him to the trouble of one siege, yet, when they found the king's person exposed in the army, they grew uneasy, and inclined rather to expose their own persons than his. The queen, in the mean time, applied to her husband, the king of Leon, and demanded either his assistance, or at least his interposition; but Don Alvaro was beforehand with her there, and proposed a match between the king and the infanta Donna Sancha; so that, in all probability, he would have either carried his point, or a civil war must have broke out in Castile, if an unlooked for accident had not changed the face of affairs entirely^r. The regent having carried the king to Palentia, lodged him in the episcopal palace; and as he endeavoured to gain his affection by indulging him in every thing, the young king was at play with some boys of his own age, in the court of the palace, when one of them throwing a stone upon the roof, dislodged a tile, which fell directly upon the king's head, and of this wound he died June the 6th, in the year 1217, in the third year of his reign.

The regent would willingly have concealed the king's death, but that was impossible; and the queen Donna Berengara was no sooner informed of it than she sent Don Lopez Haro and Don Gonçales Giron to the king of Leon, to desire him to send her son, the infant Don Ferdinand, under pretence that she longed very much to see him^r. The king made no difficulty; and the queen no

Don Alvaro the regent, still aims at preserving the sovereignty in himself.

^a Chron. S. Fernand.

^r Annal Toletan et Compostell.

^s Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Lucæ Tudenſis Chron.

^t Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

sooner had him in her power, than she quitted the fortress, and went directly to Palencia, where all the nobility and prelates, who composed the late king's court, received her with marks of duty and affection. She resolved from thence to go to Valladolid; but first some overtures were made to Don Alvaro de Lara, that he should return to his duty. He very modestly proposed, that the queen should immediately put her son into his hands, in which case he would be content to own him for his king; but that proposition being rejected, the court proceeded to Valladolid, where the people testified their loyalty and submission with all the joy imaginable^z. The queen intended to have carried her son next into Estremadura, and had actually begun her journey; but the family of Lara had so effectually corrupted the inhabitants of most of the great towns, that they refused to open their gates; upon which the queen and her son returned to Valladolid, where having called a general assembly of the states, every one of the places that were in the hands of the faction were summoned to submit, on pain of being declared rebellious. This expedient had its effect, the cities, upon mature deliberation, opened their gates, returned to their duty, and sent deputies to the diet^a.

Donna Berengara proclaimed queen, who resigns the crown to her son.

This assembly was remarkably numerous, almost all the prelates and nobility in Castile being present therein, when they solemnly acknowledged the infanta Berengara, in her own right, queen of the Two Castiles. Her reign, however, was of very short continuance; for, by the advice of the principal nobility, she caused a kind of theatre to be erected before one of the principal gates of the city, upon which the infant Don Ferdinand appeared in his robes of state, and the queen, his mother, at the head of a deputation of the prelates and nobility, having paid her respects and saluted him king, he was carried, with the acclamations of all the spectators, to the cathedral church, and there solemnly inaugurated, August the 31st, 1217^b. This scene of joy was strangely discomposed, by the news that Don Alonso, king of Leon, at the head of a great army, had entered Castile, by the advice and in company with Don Alvaro de Lara, to revenge the signal affront he had received, in having his son made a king without asking his consent. The queen sent the bishops of Burgos

^z Annal Toletan. Chron. S. Fernand. ^a Chron. Var. Antiq. Chron. S. Fernand.
^b Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Chron. S. Fernand.

and Palentia to intreat him not to injure the subjects of his son, nor to disturb the dawn of his reign; but he would listen to no accommodation; and believing that he should surprise the court without resistance, continuing his march directly to Burgos; but Don Lopez de Haro, having assembled a small body of good troops, threw himself into the city, and prepared every thing for a vigorous defence, upon which Don Alonso thought fit to retire into his dominions, expressing great indignation against such as had prevailed upon him to act in so unkingly and in so unnatural a manner^c. This storm being blown over, the queen sent to Don Alvaro, to demand the body of her brother, which he had clandestinely withdrawn and concealed. This, with some shew of civility, he caused to be delivered to the bishops who brought the queen's message, and by whose orders it was interred with great solemnity at Burgos^d.

The lords who were attached to the faction of Don Alvaro de Lara, or rather who were desirous of exempting themselves from the power of their sovereign, continuing still to yield but a kind of precarious obedience, the king and his mother raised an army, in order, once for all, to put him in full possession of his dominions. The great difficulty they met with arose from want of money, which in some measure the queen removed, by selling her jewels. In order to strike at the root, the king marched to Herrera, where Don Alvaro himself was, with a strong garrison. The king's troops were but raw, and, it may be, indifferently clothed and armed: Don Alvaro, coming with a small body of horse to view them at a little distance, conceived so contemptible an opinion of them, that he advanced nearer and nearer, on purpose to insult them; but his rashness cost him dear; for some of the nobility about the person of the king, suddenly charged and took him prisoner^e. He was much better treated than he deserved; for the queen offered him his liberty, upon his causing the places to be surrendered that were in the hands of himself and his dependents, a proposal which he accepted, and the agreement was punctually performed on both sides. After he recovered his liberty, he tried, for some time, to live in quiet, but speedily relapsed into his old intrigues; of which the king having intelligence, he marched against

Don Alvaro de Lara taken prisoner by the king through his own imprudence.

^c Annal. Toletan. Chron. S. Fernand.

^d Roderic To-

letan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

^e Idem ibid. lib. ix. Chron.

S. Fernand.

A.D. 1218. him instantly, with a body of troops, and he thereupon quitted Castile, and went to seek protection at the court of Leon ^f.

His flight to Leon, author of a new war, and miserable death.

The king Don Alonso received him kindly; and, though he had been deceived by him once before, suffered himself to be again seduced. Merely, from a persuasion that the enterprize would be easily accomplished, he raised a powerful army, in order to invade Castile. His son, king Ferdinand, assembled another still more powerful, with which he encamped in the neighbourhood of Medina del Campo, as being unwilling to act against his father, if hostilities could be avoided. Don Alonso, less cautious, advanced into the territory of Salamanca, and invested a place of no great consequence, where some troops had taken post. While he lay before the place, Don Alvaro fell sick, and, being unable to come into the king's presence, the prelates laid hold of that opportunity to convince him of the injustice of the war, a conviction which induced him to raise the siege, and to retire into his own dominions ^g. This retreat broke the heart of Don Alvaro de Lara, who, upon the march of the army, died at Toro; expressing, with his last breath, a strong desire that his body should be clothed in the habit of St. James, and interred at Ucles. As he left nothing behind him to bury him with, the queen, Donna Berengara, sent a rich robe for his body, and a sum of money for defraying the expences of his funeral; an example of Christian charity that deserves to be remembered. As for his brother, Don Ferdinand de Lara, whose conduct had been very equivocal during these troubles, he purchased the king's leave to quit his country by surrendering the places he held, and then he retired to Morocco, where he died in obscurity.

Marriage of the king of Castile to the princess Beatrix of Suabia, daughter to the emperor.

The archbishop, Don Roderic of Toledo, having procured from the pope a bull of croisade against the infidels, caused it to be published throughout all Spain, and, by that expedient, assembled a great army in the neighbourhood of his city. He forthwith invaded the territory of the Moors, reduced some places of no great importance, and at length besieged Requena, which was strong both by art and nature. He persisted, however, in his design of taking it for more than two months, but, in the end, was compelled to rise from before it, with the loss of ten thousand men, to his great mortification ^h. The queen,

^f Chron. Var. Antiqu.

^g Annal. Toletan.

^h Ro-

deric Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Annal. Toletan.

Donna Berengara, had better success in the negotiation of a marriage for her son with the princess Beatrix, daughter to the deceased Philip, duke of Suabia, and emperor of Germany ^k. The princess Beatrix was met at Victoria by the queen, Donna Berengara, and, being conducted to Burgos, she was married on the feast of St. Andrew, in the cathedral of that city, to the young king Ferdinand, in presence of most of the prelates and nobles of Castile, amidst the acclamations of the people. About this time the knights of the order of St. Julian, by the consent and approbation of Don Alonso of Leon, took possession of Alcantara, and at the same time received a grant of all such places as they could conquer from the infidels, to be held as fiefs from the crown of Leon.

The province of Rioja had been committed to the government of Don Roderic Diaz de los Cameros, who oppressed the people to such a degree, that many complaints were brought to the king, who thereupon sent for him to Valladolid; and having signified to him that he was not at all satisfied with his defence, that nobleman retired privately from court, fortified some of the strongest places in his government, and put garrisons into them ^l. The king, Don Ferdinand, assembled an army, with full intention to chastise him; but the queen his mother interposed, and put the king in mind, that, during all their troubles, this nobleman had been faithful; upon which, in consideration of a large sum of money, he resigned his government ^m. About this time the affairs of the Moors fell into great confusion. Several alcaides, or governors, revolting against Zeit Arax, the son and successor of Mohammed, in Africa, those in Spain thought themselves at liberty to follow their example. Accordingly Aben Hut, who was descended from the kings of Saragossa, possessed himself of the kingdom of Murcia, and the best part of Andalusia; Mohammed Aben Abdallah seized Boeza and the country round it; and the kingdom of Valentia was all that remained to Abuzet, the brother of Mohammed Enazor ⁿ. Thus the very errors and mistakes of the Christians operated in their favour; and while they seemed to neglect their true interest, by allowing the infidels time to rest and recruit themselves, they employed that time more to their own prejudice than if the war had continued.

Next year James king of Arragon married Donna Eleonora, sister to the queen Donna Berengara, and aunt to

^k Lucæ Tudenfis Chron. Chron. S. Fernand.

deric Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

^a Chron. Var. Antiq.

^m Chron. S. Fernand.

^l Ro. James, king of Arragon, espouses the infant Eleonora.

A.D. 1220.

Don Ferdinand, king of Castile °. Amongst the numerous lords of the house of Lara was the count de Gonçalves de Molina, who hitherto had lived peaceably, but now, at the instigation of another Don Gonçalves, of the same family, brother to the late Don Alvaro, he took up arms, and was joined by that old rebel, who had taken shelter among the Moors †. This revolt obliged the king to march against him with a numerous body of forces; and the war, perhaps would not have been very quickly finished, if the queen had not caused an intimation to be given to Don Gonçalves de Molina, that she intended to have married the infant Don Alonso to his daughter. This effectually disarmed him: he constrained his cousin to quit the kingdom, surrendered all his places into the king's hands, was restored to them and to his favour, and soon after the royal infant married his daughter ‡. On the 23d of November the queen Donna Beatrix was delivered of the infant Don Alonso, who succeeded his father in his dominions, and, about three months after his birth, was acknowledged for his successor in a general assembly of the states §; the king being at that time determined to enter into a war against the Moors. This design was, however, suspended, by the breaking out of a formidable rebellion in Galicia, for the suppressing of which, his father demanded of him a considerable body of troops, which he very readily sent him, and by whose assistance the insurrection was suppressed §. The king of Leon, in the succeeding year, thought fit to establish an university at Salamanca.

A.D. 1222.

John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, espouses the infant Be-rengara.

Don Ferdinand of Castile, being informed that Don Alvaro Peréz, who, on account of his having a share in the late troubles, had retired amongst the Moors, was an excellent officer, he caused it to be insinuated, that if he would return home, he would not only pardon but employ him, an intimation which had its effect; and it was from him chiefly that he took his measures for the ensuing war. His forces rendezvoused at Toledo, to which city he went; and, after a general review, he marched with them, attended by the archbishop Don Roderic, into the territory of the Moors; but before he had advanced far, he was met by Abuzéit, king of Valentia, who offered to become his vassal. He received him kindly, and sent him back with a promise that no hostilities should be committed against his subjects. He then passed the Sierra

° Zurita Annal. Arragon.

‡ Annal Toletan.

§ Ro-

deric Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

† Chron. Var. An-

tiq.

§ Lucæ Tudensis Chron.

Morena, ravaged the territory of Baeza, defeated a body of Moors who attempted to oppose his passage, and concluded the campaign by taking Quezada, which, with some other fortresses, he demolished †. While the king was in the field, John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, arrived in Spain, in order to perform a vow he had made to visit the shrine of the apostle St. James. After he had accomplished this, he visited the court at Burgos, and there concluded a marriage with Donna Berengara, the sister of king Ferdinand, and soon after set out with her for the court of France.

A.D. 1224.

The king took the field early next spring; but had scarce passed the Sierra Morena, before he was met by Aben Mohammed, the son of Aben Abdallah, descended from the miramamolins of Africa, who became his vassal, and agreed to pay him the fourth part of his revenues; for which, by way of security, he gave his son Abdul Menin as a hostage, and put likewise into his hands the castles of Baeza, Andujar, and Martos, a submission which put an end to the campaign †. Don Alonso, king of Leon, was, at the same time, in the field; and being met by a numerous army of Moors, under the command of Aben Hut, king of Seville, a general engagement ensued; in which, after a warm and bloody dispute, the Christians were victorious, and Don Alonso returned into his own dominions, covered with glory, as his troops were laden with plunder ‡. The pope, towards the end of the year, sent a bull of croisade into Spain, to enable the kings of Leon and Portugal to carry on the war against the infidels, in which they were engaged with the greater effect; for, as we have observed, the archbishop of Toledo had procured a bull of the same kind, on behalf of the king his master §.

Campaign of the king Don Ferdinand against the Moors.

A.D. 1225.

As soon as the season would permit, the young monarch was again in the field, with the troops of Castile and Leon, though it does not appear that his forces were very numerous; for his design was no other than to reduce the several places which the Moors still possessed, at the descent of the Sierra Morena, through the pass of Muradal. Having accomplished this aim, and thrown into them strong garrisons, he retired, and put his forces into quarters of refreshment; a retreat which delivered the Moors from their

He demands several fortresses from Mohammed, king of Baeza.

† Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Chron. S. Fernand.
 ‡ Chron. Var. Antiq. § Lucæ Tudensis Chron. * Chron. S. Fernand. Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

A.D. 1226.

fears, and hindered them from acquiring any just idea of that important plan he had formed for extending his own dominions, and curtailing their's ^y. The next year he returned, with a more potent army, into Andalusia, and demanded of Mohammed, king of Baeza, the fortresses of Bergamilar, Salvatierra, and Capilla. That monarch, afraid of a war with so enterprising a prince, whilst he was at the same time in dread of all the rest of his neighbours, acquiesced under this demand; and sent his orders to the commandants of the respective places, to put them into the hands of the king of Castile. In the mean time he surrendered the castle of Baeza by way of security. The king sent Don Gonçales, grand-master of the order of Calatrava, to take possession of it, with a competent garrison; upon which the Moorish monarch, who could not, with any decency, live in a city commanded by a Christian garrison, withdrew to Cordova, which was also in his possession, till the fortresses he had demanded were rendered to the king of Castile ^z. As for the two first, they were evacuated by the Moorish garrisons without any dispute; but the last, having been used as a place of arms, and being consequently spacious, strong, and well supplied with provisions and military stores, the governor, who was a brave man, and had a numerous garrison, refused to obey his master's orders; and, after some altercations, Don Ferdinand found himself under the necessity of besieging the place in form ^a.

A D. 1227.

That unfortunate monarch murdered for granting his request.

The Moors of Cordova, instead of attributing the complaisance of their monarch to those which were in reality its proper motives, began to suspect him of holding a secret correspondence with the Christians; and even believed him a Christian in his heart: this opinion determined them to put him out of the way, and submit themselves to Aben Hut, king of Seville. A popular conspiracy can never long be concealed; Mohammed, therefore, having gained intelligence of their design, endeavoured to provide for his personal security, by retiring privately to a place of safety, in which he miscarried; for, being pursued and taken upon the road, the conspirators, in pursuance of their original scheme, cut off his head. The news of this revolution no sooner reached Baeza, than the inhabitants took up arms, and besieged the castle, which the grand-master defended with all the spirit and resolution that be-

^y Chron. Var. Antiq.
^a Chron. S. Fernand.

^z Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

came a man of his rank. At the end of four months, Don Ferdinand took Capilla by storm, and put the whole Moorish garrison to the sword^b. The grand-master, and those under his command, were very near meeting with the same fate; but, upon signifying his distress to Don Alvaro Perez, he fixed a short day for sending him such a reinforcement as should enable him to raise the siege. Accordingly, in the night preceding that day, Don Lopez de Haro entered the castle with a numerous detachment, and as soon as it was light, in conjunction with the grand-master and his garrison, attacked the posts of the infidels with such vigour, that in a few hours they were all forced, and the Christians became masters of the place. This was a conquest of great importance; the city anciently called Vatia, standing on an eminence, not far from the Guadalquivir; and it was thought very remarkable, the Castilians recovered it on the feast of St. Andrew, to whom its church, in ancient times, was dedicated^c.

In the beginning of the month of March, in the succeeding year, Don Ferdinand laid the first stone of the new cathedral in Toledo, which is the same magnificent structure that adorns this city in our times^d. The archbishop Don Roderic had a large share in this important work; and the materials being in readiness before it was begun, the undertaking, though great, was sooner completed than could well be imagined^e. The king made also a short campaign, in which he ravaged the country about Jaen, in order to facilitate an enterprize, which was to be the business of the ensuing year. We have before observed, that James, king of Arragon, had married Donna Eleonora, sister to Don Ferdinand of Castile, by whom he was the father of the infant Don Alonso; but having at this time a legate from the pope at his court, that prelate discovered, or as some writers hint, had it discovered to him by the king, that this princess and he stood equally related to the emperor Don Alonso, upon which a council was called of the bishops of Arragon and Castile, by whom the marriage was declared null; a sentence which the king bore with great moderation; but the queen discovered a little impatience: however, the legitimacy of her son was provided for, and she returned again to the court of Burgos^f. Don Alonso, king of Leon, took the field in Estremadura, and

A.D. 1227.

The pope declares null the marriage between the king and queen of Arragon.

^b Annal. Toletan.

^c Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

^d Annal. Tolet.

^e Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

^f Zurita Annal. Arragon.

made himself master of Caceres, a place of importance, which himself and his predecessors had more than once attempted in vain.

*Don Alonso
of Leon
gains a
glorious
victory
over the
Moors at
Merida.*

Don Alonso, king of Leon, resolved to pursue the war against the infidels with greater vigour than ever, as having nothing to fear from any of his neighbours. He cast his eyes upon Merida, a place of great strength, and of great consequence, to the safety of which the Moors were very attentive; but, however, he attacked it so vigorously, that it fell into his hands before they were in a condition to relieve it^g. He had scarce entered into possession, before Aben Hut, the most powerful of the Moorish monarchs in Spain, appeared at the head of an army of twenty thousand horse and sixty thousand foot^h. The troops of Don Alonso were much inferior in number; but he had no choice to make, except fighting, or being besieged in his new conquest: recommending himself to the intercession of the Spanish apostle and St. Isidore, he marched out, and gave battle to the Moors, and after a long dispute, gained a complete victory. His son, Don Ferdinand of Castile, impatient at his former miscarriage, besieged Jaen again with a very formidable army; but the Moors, who knew the importance of the place, and who saw how fast their affairs were declining, had in every respect provided so effectually for its defence, that the king was prevailed upon by his officers, rather to raise the siege a second time, than ruin his army.

A.D. 1230.

*Dies in his
journey to
the tomb of
St. James,
at Compos-
tella.*

Don Alonso of Leon, immediately after his glorious campaign, went to visit the shrine of St. Isidore, and to return thanks to God for the victory of Merida. He intended to have done the same at Compostella, according to the religious notions of those times; but, in his journey thither, he was seized with the distemper, of which he died, at Villa Nova de Serria, on the 23d of September, in the year 1230ⁱ. By his testament, he directed that his body should be interred in the cathedral church of St. James, as near as might be to that of his father: he declared the infantas Donna Sancha and Donna Dulcia, whom he had by his first wife the infanta Theresa of Portugal, coheiresses of his dominions, requiring several of the prelates, and most considerable of the nobility by name to see his last will punctually executed^k. He was a prince

^g Annal Toletan et Compostel. Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon.

^h Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix. ⁱ Chron. S. Fernand. Roderic Santii Hist. Hisp. Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan.

^k Chron. S. Fernand.

endowed with great virtues ; but, at the same time, had great foibles : with respect to the former, he was chiefly distinguished by the integrity of his government, in point of justice, and his great mildness in levying his revenue, which made his subjects rich, and himself exceedingly beloved. The inconstancy of his temper was his greatest failing, and in the course of his reign exposed him to many inconveniences. He was unfortunate in both his marriages, though a good husband to both his wives ; but the first remained ever mistress of his affections.

The manner in which he disposed of his dominions by his will was very near producing a civil war. Galicia, and some part of Leon, adhered to the infantas ; but the far greater part of the kingdom declared for Don Ferdinand of Castile, to whose succession the states had solemnly sworn. Queen Theresa left Portugal to support the party of her daughters, and took shelter with them under the protection of the great-master of the order of St. James¹. The queen, Donna Berengara, as soon as she heard of her husband's death, set out with all her family, and was overtaken by the king Don Ferdinand, on the road to Leon, into which capital they were received with all imaginable marks of duty and loyalty : to confirm this disposition in the people, the king published two edicts, one for remitting taxes, and the other threatening with very severe punishment such as should persist in rebellion^m ; notwithstanding which, many persons of great distinction remained firm to the infantas ; and things, at last, would have certainly come to extremities, if the two queens Theresa and Berengara had not settled them amicably, at an interview which they had for this purpose : there they agreed, that the king, Don Ferdinand, should give each of his sisters a large pension, in consideration of which they renounced their pretensions under Don Alonso's will ; and this reconciliation was so cordial on both sides, that the two queens fixed a time in the ensuing year for a second interview, that the whole royal family of Leon might have an opportunity of meeting and embracing each otherⁿ ; a circumstance so singular, that hardly any thing of the like kind is to be met with in history. From the union of the two kingdoms of Castile and Leon, which was perfected by this agreement, they have never been divided, but have gradually drawn to them all the other sovereignties in

*Disputes
about the
succession
amicably
compromised.*

¹ Roderic Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Luc. Tudenf. Chron.
^m Chron. S. Fernand. ⁿ Ibid.

Spain; those of the Christians by inheritance or marriage, and those of the Moors by conquest, as in the succeeding sections it will be our business to explain.

S E C T. VII.

The History of the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon, from the Accession of St. Ferdinand to the Union of all the Christian Monarchies in Spain, except Portugal, in the Persons of their Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella.

*Interview
between
both
branches of
the royal
family, and
harmony
between
them.*

THE conjunction of the kingdoms of Leon and Castile was an event not at all more agreeable or more glorious for the sovereign than it was advantageous to the people: the nobility, therefore, preferred the justice and the conveniency of the king of Castile's title to the will of their late prince, who, contrary to reasons of state, his own solemn act, and the oaths of his states, would have disinherited his son, merely because he was a king in his lifetime: but though Don Ferdinand very well knew this disposition, and that he might, without any danger, have trusted the tranquility of his kingdom of Leon to the affection of his subjects, yet he very punctually kept the appointment made by his mother queen Berengara, and repaired to Benevente with his family, at the time fixed: thither also came the queen dowager Theresa, and the two infantas; and the mutual sincerity of the whole royal family appeared not only in exterior marks of kindness and respect, and in the king's confirmation of large annual pensions, which had been promised, but from their maintaining a perfect and good correspondence while they were together, and from the resolutions taken when they came to part.

Don Ferdinand of Castile confers with the king of Portugal, and concludes a treaty.

It was then agreed, that the infanta Donna Sancha should be left behind with queen Berengara, and reside, for the future, in the court of Castile; and that the king should accompany queen Theresa and the other infanta, her daughter, into Portugal. The king, Don Sancho, quitted his dominions to go and meet them, and the two kings had a long interview at Sabugal; where Don Ferdinand took great pains to persuade Don Sancho, how much it was their common interest to live in the strictest terms of friendship and peace, that they might carry on the war with greater success against their common enemy the Moors.

Moors. To convince him that this was the language of his heart, he restored the important fortrefs of St. Stephen de Chaves, which his father had taken from him^a. At his return from this interview, Don Ferdinand marched with a good corps of troops into Galicia, where the lords, who pretended to espouse the cause of the infantas, were endeavouring to render themselves independent, despising the youth and want of experience in their new king. He reduced some, punished others, and obliged the rest to quit their country: amongst these was Don Lorenzo Suarez, who retired into the territory of the Moors^o. Towards the close of the year arrived a bull from pope Gregory IX. ratifying the treaty between him and queen Donna Theresa, by which the settlement of the kingdom of Leon was rendered complete.

A.D. 1231.

As the king's attention was, for the present, wholly employed about civil affairs, Don Roderic, archbishop of Toledo, was intrusted with the care of the frontiers; and his zeal induced him to carry on the war very briskly against the Moors, from whom he took several places, and some of the most considerable were, for this reason, granted by the crown to his diocese.

Many places taken from the Moors, granted to the archiepiscopal see of Toledo.

Next year, however, the Christian army on the frontiers was commanded by the infant Don Alonso, the king's brother, and Don Alvaro Perez: the young prince, being desirous of signalizing his courage, marched into the territory of Cordova; and, having ravaged it without opposition, advanced into that of Seville, and passed the Guadiana at Xerez. The Moorish monarch, Aben Hut, having certain intelligence of the small number of forces the infant commanded, and having received a large reinforcement from Africa, under the command of a general who acted from no other motives than religious zeal, resolved to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity to give a check to the Christian power. Having accordingly taken his measures with as much secrecy as possible, he advanced, with a numerous army, in order to surprise the Christians: the infant Alonso might have retired, if his piety and courage had not induced him to risk a battle, from a persuasion that, with the Divine assistance, many may be vanquished by few. His little army was ranged in two lines, the first commanded by Don Alvaro Perez, the se-

The Royal infant gains a glorious victory over Aben Hut, king of Seville.

^a Brandaon. Emanuel de Faria y Soufa de las Historias y Portuguesas. Ferreras Historia de Hispan. p. vi. § xiii. * Roderic Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Lucæ Tudentis Chron.

cond by the infant in person; they both observed a close order, and received the charge of the Moors with great firmness and intrepidity. The battle was obstinate and bloody; but, in the end, the Christians were victorious, and the Moorish general from Africa slain upon the spot, by a young gentleman of Toledo, who had received the honour of knighthood that morning in the field^p. A prodigious number of Moors were killed upon the spot, and in their flight; Aben Hut himself escaped with difficulty; and most of the Spanish historians^q are persuaded, and would persuade their readers, that St. James was visibly present in the battle, in which there fell but one man on the side of the infant. The archbishop of Toledo is silent upon this head; and though the bishop of Tuy mentions the victory, and ascribes it to the wonderful power of God, yet he says nothing as to the presence of St. James^r.

A D. 1233.

*Death of
Donna
Beatrix,
queen of
Castile,
and an ac-
count of
her chil-
dren.*

At the opening of the ensuing year, Don Ferdinand took the field in person, having several points of importance in view. In the first place he ordered the bishop of Placentia to make himself master of Truxillo, a place of great consequence, at the distance of ten leagues from Merida, a service which he performed. He next charged Don Pedro Gonçales, grand-master of the order of St. James, to reduce Montial, with its district: this point being likewise gained, the king appointed those detachments to join his army, at a certain place, and, when the Moors least expected it, invested Ubeda, a city which had been often attempted, but in vain, and which commanded a country as fertile in wine, corn, oil, and fruits, as any in Spain. The Moors made a long and gallant defence, in hopes the king of Seville would have relieved them; but he was so humbled and so disabled by his late defeat, that he could do nothing; so that, on Michaelmas-day, that valuable city was surrendered. While the king lay before this place, he lost his dear consort Donna Beatrix, who died at Toro, and left behind her six sons; namely, the infants Alonso, Frederic, Henry, Ferdinand, Philip, and Sancho; he had by her also the infanta Maria, but she died some small time before the queen her mother.

A D. 1234.

This loss seems to have affected the king so much, that he was not in the field all the next year, and there was but little done for that reason; but a great design was con-

^p Annal. Tolet. Chron. S. Fernand. ^q Ferreras Historia de Hispan. p. vi. sec. xiii. ^r Chron. Mundi.

trived, which in the course of the ensuing year was carried into execution. In various expeditions, the Castilians had taken prisoners a considerable number of those soldiers, styled *almogaraves*, that is, *invalids*, who were generally put into garrisons; and this might probably be one reason why their places were so well defended. But no care being taken to ransom them, these old men took it so ill, that they began to insinuate to some of the Christian officers, that the great city of Cordova had but a small garrison, the care of it being chiefly trusted to the inhabitants, who were very remiss, and that consequently it might be easily surprised. Measures for this purpose being concerted, a small body of horse and foot marched in a dark and rainy night, scaled the walls, and possessed themselves of one of the suburbs, in which they barricaded themselves, and kept it, in spite of all that the Moors in the city could do, notwithstanding they were often attacked. Don Alvaro Perez no sooner received news of their success, than he marched to relieve them, with all the troops under his command, which prevented the Moors from driving them out of the posts they had taken, but was of no consequence towards reducing the city, which was both strong and populous. The king, Don Ferdinand, apprised of their situation, and of the great importance of this bold attempt, set out immediately from Benevente, with a few of the nobility that were about him, ordering troops to be sent after him as fast as they could be raised.

The great scheme formed for reducing the city of Cordova, and its consequences.

The Moors in Cordova, having an exact account of these proceedings, sent deputies to Aben Hut, requesting him to lose no time in marching to their relief, as the king's army was very inconsiderable, and that, upon his retreat, those in the suburbs must be obliged to surrender. This monarch, well knowing the value of Cordova, assembled the whole force of his dominions; and, if he had marched with them, must have done his business without striking a blow; but, by using too much caution, he lost this opportunity, and soon after his life^s (H). As soon as the season

Don Ferdinand enters Cordova in triumph, and causes the city to be repopled.

^s Chron. S. Fernand. Roderic Toletan. de Reb Hispan. lib. ix. Lucæ Tudensis Chron.

(H) In his march to the relief of Cordova, he was invited by Aben Ramin his favourite, whom he had made governor of Almeria, to honour that place with his presence. There he was splendidly feasted, after which, retiring to the bath, he

was

season would permit, the troops of the prelates, nobles, and of the several military orders, gradually arrived in the camp of Don Ferdinand, by which he quickly found himself strong enough to quit the post he had taken, and to invest Cordova; the inhabitants of which city, finding themselves much straitened for provisions, intimidated by the death of king Aben Hut, and having no succour to expect, at length desired a capitulation, and, upon being permitted to march out freely, and go where they pleased, surrendered on the feast of St. Peter and Paul, on the 29th of June, in the year 1236^t. The settling every thing that regarded this important conquest, cost the king so much time, that it was the month of September before he found himself at liberty to return to Toledo, where he found the good old archbishop Roderic, just arrived from Rome, where he had been to solicit the rights of his church against that of St. James of Compostella, the popes having very wisely declined to determine the long depending suit between these sees for the primacy; which, as it served to flatter the power, so it turned likewise to the profit, of these ecclesiastical sovereigns; and therefore we need not wonder that they proceeded at leisure, and would precipitate nothing in a matter of such consequence^u.

Marries a second time the daughter of the count de Ponthieu.

The queen mother, Donna Berengara, reflecting very prudently on the inconveniencies that might attend the king's remaining a widower in the prime of his age, by the advice of her sister the queen of France, negociated a marriage for him with the lady Jane, daughter to Simon count de Ponthieu, merely on account of the great reputation she was in for the purity of her manners and the sweetness of her temper^w. This marriage, which was celebrated at Bourdeaux, and the renewing the league with the king of Navarre, took up the whole of this year, in which the forces of Castile remained in winter quarters and garrisons,

^t Anna^l. Toletan. Anna^l. Compostel. Roderic Toletan. Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. S. Fernand. ^u Anna^l. Tolet. Chron. S. Fernand. ^w Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

was there stifled by Aben Ramin's order. As soon as his death was known, the army disbanded. The death of Aben Hut at this juncture was attend-

ed with the most fatal consequences to the Moors, and seems to have been the principal cause of the heavy losses they sustained (1).

(1) Chron. St. Fernand. Mariana Hist. general de Hispana, lib. xii. cap. 18. Ferreras Hist. Hispan. part. vi. sect. xiii.

without

without undertaking any thing of importance, and this with-
 prejudice to the affairs of the Christians, those of the
 Moors being fallen into such confusion, that they were in
 no condition of seizing even a greater advantage^x. The A.D. 1237.
 next year, in all probability, would have been remarkable
 for action, if a famine had not broke out at Cordova,
 which might have had fatal consequences, if the king, who
 kept his Easter at Valladolid, had not taken care to send
 a large supply of provisions, together with a considerable
 sum in ready money^y. In the autumn he made a tour to
 Toledo, and from thence to the frontiers, from whence
 he made some excursions into the territory of Jaen, to
 which city, if he had not found it so strong, he intended
 to have laid siege.

The great extent of country which had been added to A.D. 1240.
 his dominions, in the space of a few years, obliged Don
 Ferdinand to act with great caution, and hindered him
 from being so alert in his expeditions as in times past.
 He saw that it was to no purpose to waste his troops in
 subduing places which he must be afterwards forced to
 abandon, and leave his successors subject to the trouble
 of taking them again; for which reason he laboured all
 that in him lay to preserve a line of regular fortifications,
 and, by the promise of lands, immunities, and other ad-
 vantages, drew multitudes from all parts to settle in the
 towns and villages that were behind that line^z. The
 Moors, during that space of time, in which he was thus
 employed, neglected nothing that might contribute to re-
 store their affairs, except the only method that could have
 been effectual, which was a general confederacy. At length
 the king of Granada invited his neighbour the king of
 Murcia to enter into a league with him, offensive and de-
 fensive, a proposal which that king, however, declined;
 and gave this reason for it, that very probably this might
 incense the king of Castile, who was infinitely more able
 to conquer than the other was to protect his dominions;
 which answer, though well founded, gave such offence to
 the king of Granada, that he began to raise forces, and
 to think of making war upon the prince who had rejected
 his alliance. Of this design the sovereign of Murcia had
 no sooner intelligence than he dispatched ambassadors to

*The king of
 Murcia
 submits and
 pays homage
 to Don Fer-
 dinand of
 Castile.*

^x Chron. S. Fernand.
 par Florian de Ocampo.
 Toletan.

^y Chron. general de Hispana,
^z Chron. S. Fernand Annales.

Don Ferdinand, and desired to be taken under his protection^a. The king of Castile doubted of the sincerity of this proposition, and therefore ordered the ambassadors to return to their master, and to bring his final resolution to the young prince Don Alonso, who, with a corps of troops, should advance to the frontiers, to support him if there should be occasion. Upon their return and repeating the same demand, Don Alonso prosecuted his march into the kingdom of Murcia, of which and of the capital he took possession, in the name of his father, who assembled a good army at Toledo, where his son joined him as soon as this service was performed^b.

A.D. 1244.

That monarch, after laying waste the country about it, besieges the city of Jaen.

They returned early next year to the field, the king repairing to the frontiers of Andalusia, and the infant Alonso into Murcia. The king of Granada defeated a corps of troops commanded by a Castilian officer, but was not able to prevent Don Ferdinand from ravaging all the country as far as his capital, to which he laid siege, but without effect; the Moors receiving a great supply from Africa. The city of Jaen, once the seat of a Moorish monarchy, but now dependent upon that of Granada, had been long the object of the king Don Ferdinand's attention, which, though he laboured to disguise, could not, however, be hid from its present possessor, who always took care to keep it in a good state of defence, with a numerous garrison, well supplied with provisions. The king of Castile ravaged all the country about it this spring, with a full resolution to besiege it before the close of the year. From this expedition he returned to Cordova, and from thence went to meet his mother queen Berengara, who came to confer with him on the affairs of Castile. Upon her return to Burgos, the king went back to the frontiers; and as soon as his forces were assembled, in the autumn invested Jaen, and, contrary to the opinion of most of his generals, continued the siege through the winter.

Mohammed Alhamer, king of Granada, becomes his vassal.

The place made a vigorous and obstinate defence, and the king of Granada was often in the field with his forces in order to relieve it; but Don Ferdinand was so much upon his guard, and took care to have his army so well supplied, that the Moor, notwithstanding all his vigilance, met with repeated disappointments; which, though he

^a Chronica General de Hispana, par Florian de Ocampo. Chron. S. Fernand. ^b Annal Toletan

was a wise and brave prince, humbled him so much, that he came at length to a sudden and strange resolution^d: he sent a person of distinction to the king, Don Ferdinand, and offered to become his vassal, in case they could agree upon the terms; upon which he proposed to confer with him in person, in case he would send him a safe-conduct. Don Ferdinand accepted the proposition; upon which the Moorish monarch, Aben Alhamer, came to his camp, kissed his hand, which, according to the ceremonial of those days, was a mark of vassalage, consented to deliver up Jaen, to pay him an annual tribute of fifty thousand pieces of gold, and to serve in his armies with a corps of auxiliaries, whenever it should be required. On the other hand, the king of Castile stipulated his protection in all cases, and against all persons, together with the guarantee of whatever he possessed. These articles being settled, the city of Jaen was delivered into his hands: the king took possession of it about the middle of April, after a siege of eight months^e. This glorious success of his arms excited in the monarch of Castile a fervent desire, attended with a strong hope, of reducing Seville; an enterprize, however, of great difficulty, and which demanded therefore much circumspection (I). In order

^d Annal Toletan. *Chronica General de Espana*, par Florian De Ocampo.
^e Chron. S. Fernand. *Annal Toletan*.

(I) We propose in this note to say somewhat of that famous prelate, Don Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, to whom all Spain was so much obliged while living, and whose writings will be a lasting monument to the glory of his countrymen, as long as any regard for history shall remain. He was by birth of a very noble family in the kingdom of Navarre, received, in consequence of that, a liberal and learned education, which raised him to the archbishoprick of Toledo, A. D. 1208. In this station he acted with great dignity, piety, and firmness. He was often in the field against

the Moors, particularly in the great battle of Toloso. He was immoveably attached to the royal family, and exceedingly tenacious of the rights of his church, which disposition is thought to have hastened his death; for, in his contest with the archbishop of Tarragona, for the primacy of Spain, who went once so far as to excommunicate him, he found himself obliged to apply himself to pope Innocent IV. in the council of Lyons, whither, though bending under a load of years and infirmities, he actually went; but being seized with a grievous distemper in his return, he

order to facilitate this the king took the field in autumn, ravaged all the country adjacent to that city, and reduced several places, Alhamar, king of Granada, serving in his army.

Don Ferdinand of Castile resolves to form a considerable fleet.

The king being fully satisfied that treasure was as necessary as troops in the execution of great projects, demanded of the pope a bull for levying the third of the tenths of his clergy throughout his dominions, for the carrying on this war against the infidels, which he obtained. He passed the interval of time between the putting his troops into winter quarters and bringing them again into the field at Cordova, in seeing all the necessary preparations made under his eyes, and, amongst other precautions, he took that most necessary step of having a good fleet, at least for those times, without which he could have done nothing. This was built and equipped under the direction, and put to sea under the orders of Raymond Boniface, an officer of note in those times, whom, for this purpose, the king took into his pay^f.

Besieges the city of Seville by land, and at the same time blocks it up by sea.

This fleet consisted of thirteen large ships, and of several of a small size, with which he repaired to the mouth of the river Guadalquivir, and found in the port of St. Lucar a stout fleet from Barbary, with supplies of all kinds on board. The king, Don Ferdinand, having a numerous army, part of which was composed of Moorish troops under Alhamar, was very active all this time by land, made himself master of several towns and fortresses, and had, by degrees, blocked up the place^g. As soon as he heard, therefore, that his fleet was at the mouth of the river, he sent a strong detachment to facilitate its coming up; but the Moors sallied with so superior a force, that the troops were obliged to return without attempting any thing.

^f Chron. General de Espana, par Florian de Ocampo. ^g Chron. S. Fernand.

died on board a vessel that carried him down the Rhosne, August 9, 1245. His history of the Spanish affairs, in nine books, ends with the king's second marriage; he wrote, besides the History of the Ostrogoths, of the Huns, Vandals,

&c. the History of the Arabs, from A. D. 570 to 1150; as also the History of the Romans, from the reign of Janus to the year A. U. C. 708. All of them in great esteem, but more especially his History of Spain and of the Arabs (1).

(1) Gaspar. Oudin Commentar. tom. iii. p. 184. Du Pin, Hist. Ecclesiast. vol. ii. p. 60.

Raymond

Raymond Boniface, trusting then entirely to his own strength, attacked the African fleet with great spirit and resolution, and having destroyed it, entered the port, and passed up the river^b. The king, Don Ferdinand, then disposed every thing to attack the Moors encamped upon the mole; but they abandoned their posts, and retired into the place, which was completely invested. The king began the siege in form on the 20th of August, and it lasted all the winter. It is particularly recorded, that the army was so regularly disposed, so thoroughly secured from the injuries of the weather, and so amply supplied with all sorts of provision, that it seemed rather the suburbs of a vast city, than the transitory station of troops in the fieldⁱ.

At the beginning of the spring the queen came to pay her husband a visit; in the month of March arrived the infant Don Alonso, his son, Don Lopez de Haro, with the flower of the troops of Biscay, and, last of all, the archbishop of Compostella, with the forces of Galicia, in excellent order. On the 1st of May Don Raymond Boniface broke the bridge of boats between Triana and Alfarach, thus cutting off the communication they had with places on the other side of the river, as the king had before put an end to the communication through the mountains. On the 23d of November the place surrendered, upon condition that the people should retire out of it with all their effects; and the king made his public entry with the infant Don Alonso, his brother, on one hand, and the infant Don Alonso, his son, on the other. The remainder of that and part of the next year was spent in purifying the churches, repairing the city, and in all possible endeavours to repeople it. About this time also, it is probable, that the infant Don Alonso espoused Donna Yoland, daughter to the king of Arragon, and the progress of the war seemed to have been suspended^k.

But in the succeeding year the king, though his health began to be impaired through a long series of fatigues, caused his army to take the field early, and swept all the places that still remained to the Moors between Seville and the fall of the Guadalquivir into the sea; not barely with a view to extend his territories, but to facilitate a

A.D. 1248.
The reduction of that important place, and of all the country about it.

Don Ferdinand enters the thoughts of invading the continent of Africa.

^b Chronica General de España, par Florian de Ocampo. ⁱ Anales Ecclesiasticas y Seculares de la Ciudad de Sevilla, par D. Diego Ortiz de Zuniga. Chron. S. Fernand. ^k Chron. S. Fernand. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii. Alphonsi a Castro Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

A.D. 1250.

A.D. 1251.

glorious enterprize he meditated. This was no less than a hostile descent upon the coast of Africa. Don Raymond Boniface had orders to augment the fleet, and was supplied with every thing necessary for that purpose. The infant Don Alonso, the king's eldest son, about this time, took the cross, on the news of St. Lewis's misfortunes in the Holy Land, notwithstanding the king his father was about to attack the infidels in their own dominions. His younger brother, the infant Don Sancho, with the consent of the pope, was this year chosen archbishop of Toledo. The preparations for the designed invasion were vigorously carried on, though the increase of the king's infirmities delayed the execution; at length Don Raymond failed to reconnoitre the coast of Africa, and in his passage met the Moorish fleet, that cruized upon the coast in order to protect it. After a smart engagement, in which there was considerable loss on both sides, he sunk several of the enemy's ships, and obliged them to retire in disorder into their own ports.

*But a
dropsy
carries him
to his grave
while
he meditat-
ed this de-
sign.*

But though the satisfaction arising from this victory might, in some measure, calm the mind and raise the spirits of the king, yet it could not cure the dropsy, under which he laboured, and which gradually brought him so low, that he plainly perceived he was drawing towards his end; for which he made such preparations as equally became a great king and a good Christian. He settled all the affairs of state in the best manner he was able; recommended his queen, his brother, and his children, to the infant Don Alonso his successor; exhorted him to govern with moderation, and not to load his subjects with taxes¹. He ordered all ensigns of royalty to be removed, and commanded that he should be no longer treated as a king, but as a humbled Christian, employed in the great and necessary work of making his peace with his Creator^m; and in this excellent disposition of mind breathed his last, on the 30th of May, in the year 1252. His body was soon after buried with great solemnity in the cathedral church of Sevilleⁿ. He was, from the very time of his demise, considered as a saint, and so styled by the people of Spain in general, but was not canonized at Rome till the year 1671, by pope Clement the

¹ Chronica General de España, par Florian de Ocampo.
^m Chron. S. Fernand. ⁿ Roderic. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iii,
 Alphonsi a Carthagina Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis Francisci Tara-
 phæ de Reg. Hispan. Chron. S. Fernand.

Tenth, at the earnest request of his catholic majesty, and the states of his several kindoms^o.

Don Alonso the Tenth, who, for his learning and love of learned men, was surnamed the Wise, succeeded his father, with the general approbation of the people, who considered him as a prince of great qualities, and remarkable generosity. Aben Alhamar, king of Granada, and Aben Afen, sovereign of Niebla, which lies at no great distance from Seville, and is at present a place of little or no consequence, became his vassals, and sent their ambassadors to do him homage. He broke in the first year of his reign with Henry the Third of England, upon pretence of his having a better right than that prince to Gascony, into which country he sent an army, under the command of Don Gascon, count of Berne, who was excommunicated by the pope for troubling a prince who had already taken the cross. At the same time Don Alonso prosecuted, at a large expence, that expedition which his father had in view against the Moors in Barbary, and these expences exhausted his coffers to such a degree, that he was obliged to debase his coin; a measure which, as it usually happens, raised the price of all things to such a degree, as occasioned great murmuring amongst the people^r. Next year king Henry of England sent the bishop of Bath, and Dr. John Mansell, his chaplain, to negotiate a peace, which was soon after concluded, on condition that prince Edward, son and heir apparent, of the king of England, would marry Donna Eleonora, the king of Castile's sister; in consideration of which alliance, the king would recede for the future from his claim to Gascony^q. The preparations for the expedition to Barbary still went on, and the pope, in order to facilitate it, granted a crusade; and the same bull for levying an aid upon the clergy which had been granted to his father. Don Alonso, king of Portugal, having committed some hostilities against Mohammed Aben Afen, king of Niebla, the monarch of Castile interposed on his behalf, and, in a short time also, this quarrel was compromised.

Don Alonso X. surnamed the Wise, succeeds to all his father's dominions.

A.D 1253.

Hitherto Don Alonso had continued in Andalusia and on the frontiers, but he now thought proper to visit Toledo, where the king of Granada did him homage. After conferring great privileges on the university of Salamanca, he proceeded to Burgos, where the marriage between

A.D. 1254.

Prince Edward of England espouses the princess Eleonora, infant of Castile.

^o Ferreras Historia de España, par. vi. sect. xiii.
del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^r Chron.
^q Mat. Paris, p. 384.

prince

prince Edward of England and the infanta Donna Eleonora was celebrated with all imaginable solemnity, and at a vast expence; and at the same time he conferred on that young prince the order of knighthood^a. The king, likewise, bestowed in marriage his natural daughter, Donna Beatrix de Guzman, on the king of Portugal, and with her, by way of dowry, he gave the country of Algarve^b. The Moors upon the frontiers shewed a general inclination to revolt, but those who were entrusted with the care of that country quickly reduced them. It was the misfortune of this king, that he was equally ready in forming great enterprizes, and slow in the execution of them. He was desirous of availing himself of the claim derived from his mother to the duchy of Suabia; and having, on this account, some negociation with the princes of Germany, he was induced to aim at the imperial dignity, in which he had for his competitor Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to king Henry the Third of England: which vain pursuit of both princes cost them immense sums of money, and involved them in endless scenes of trouble, without any other advantage than that of bearing the lofty title of emperor amongst the princes of their own party.

A.D. 1257.

The Moorish prince of Niebla reduced by Don Alonso and deprived.

It was in prosecution of this quarrel that he postponed the expedition to Africa, and turned his views to Italy, where, by the help of that money for which he ransacked his subjects, he had gained several princes and states to approve his title; but, after all his trouble and expence, this new expedition was laid aside, on account of some domestic disturbances. These at last rose to such a height, that the infant Don Henry took up arms against his brother, and drew in Mohammed Aben Asen to join with him; but the infant being defeated in a battle by count Nugnes de Lara, found himself under a necessity of seeking refuge in Africa, where, for some years, he remained at the court of the king of Tunis^c. As for the little king of Niebla, Don Alonso besieged him in his capital; and, though the place was very strong, and he made a long and obstinate defence, yet he was forced at length to have recourse to a capitulation; and, to preserve his liberty, parted with almost all his dominions^d.

A.D. 1259.

^a Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^b Emanuel de Faria y Sousa de las Historias Portuguesas. Mariana. Ferreras. ^c Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^d Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. Mariana. Ferreras.

Amongst other great and noble designs of the late Don Ferdinand, there was one which remained incomplete at his death; and this was making a general collection of the laws made by himself and his predecessors, and digesting them under proper titles, which was completed by his son, and is that celebrated code, intituled, *Las Partidas* *. He also redressed that confusion in law proceedings, which was occasioned by the intermixing Latin with the vulgar tongue; which he corrected, by obliging his subjects to use their own language in pieces of that kind. His love for learning, and his desire for promoting the science of astronomy, of which he was passionately fond, engaged him in an intercourse with the Soltan of Egypt †. But while his thoughts were wholly occupied by things of this nature, and the prosecution of his claim to the empire, he found himself on a sudden involved in a scene of troubles, so much the more perplexing, as they were wholly unexpected: this was occasioned by the intrigues of the Moors, who, finding themselves under far greater hardships, and, at the same time, observing that measures were not conducted with that steadiness as in the former reign, meditated a general revolt. Though this design required much deliberation, and extensive communication of counsels, yet it was managed with such great secrecy, that Don Alonso had scarce any intelligence of it till it broke out ‡.

The king's care of justice and great affection for learning.

A.D. 1260.

The chiefs were Mohammed Aben-Hut, king of Murcia, and Mohammed Alcadila Alhamar, king of Granada: these had privately demanded the assistance of Aben Joseph, king of Fez and Morocco, who willingly consented to their request, upon condition that some ports were put into his hands, for the security of the auxiliaries that he undertook to send. The king of Murcia declared first, by making inroads into the Christian territories, and recovering most of his castles which were garrisoned on the behalf of the king of Castile. Soon after the monarch of Granada took his share in the war, which conduct though Don Alonso had great reason to resent, yet he laboured to reclaim him by negotiation; for he had still the German election at heart, which was the true source of all his misfortunes, and, for the sake of the empty title of king of the Romans, he would not take those vigorous

Conspiracy of some princes of the blood and great lords supported by the Moors.

* *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*
 Ecclesiasticos y Seculares de la Ciudad de Sevilla, par D. Diego Ortiz de Zuniga.

† *Annales*
 Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

measures that would have made him a great king in Spain. At length, however, having taken the necessary steps to engage his father-in-law, the king of Arragon, to concur in repressing the Moors; and having dispatched ambassadors to solicit pope Urban the Fourth on his darling point of the election, he set out for the frontiers; and, having assembled a numerous army at Alcala Real, he fell into the kingdom of Granada, which he wasted with fire and sword ^b.

A.D. 1263.

*Don Alonso
defeats the
Moorish
monarchs,
and brings
them very
low.*

This invasion obliged the two Moorish princes to join their forces, which, when they had done, they marched towards Don Alonso, and gave him battle. But that prince, who wanted none of the qualities requisite to adorn a crown, except steadiness only, disposed his forces with so much judgment, gave his orders with such presence of mind, and distinguished himself with such acts of personal courage, that the Moors were totally defeated, obliged to abandon the field, and shut themselves up in their strong places ⁱ. In the winter he appointed commissioners to settle with those of the king of Arragon the limits between the two kingdoms, that no future grounds of dispute might rise between themselves or successors ^k. The next spring the king was early in the field, with an army superior to that which he commanded the year before; upon which the Moors sent to Aben Joseph king of Morocco, to let him know, that if his succours did not speedily arrive, the Mohammedans in Spain were for ever undone. He sent over immediately ten thousand horse; which considerable supply did not, however, enable these princes to take the field to cover their own dominions, much less to act offensively.

*Besieges the
town of
Xerez, and
after a gal-
lant de-
feace
grants the
people
terms.*

On the contrary, the king Don Alonso invested Xerez, and after a long siege, upon intelligence that Aben Joseph meant to come in person into Spain, with a prodigious army, the king granted them a favourable capitulation, to retire wherever they thought proper. This capitulation being punctually performed, the inhabitants at Bejar, Sidonia, Rota, St. Lucar, Lebrija, and Arcos, saved the king the trouble of coming before them, and left all those places empty, which in a manner swallowed up the king's army, as it scarce sufficed to settle all these places and Port St. Mary's, which the king ordered to be repaired ^l.

^b Roderic Santii Hist. Hisp. par. iv.
Mayerne Turquet.
^k Zurit Annal Arragon.
nica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

ⁱ Mariana, Ferreras,
^l Chro-

Next year the limits between Castile and Portugal were adjusted, to which crown Don Alonso yielded Algarve entirely, except reserving a band of fifty lances to be sent to his army whenever it took the field ^m.

As the German empire had suffered extremely by its having nominally two heads, though being in effect without any, great pains were taken to engage them both to resign: but Don Alonso would not endure the thoughts of quitting the title of emperor ⁿ. The two alcaides of Malaga and Guadix, taking offence at the great complaisance of the king of Granada to the officers who commanded the African troops, revolted, and put themselves under the protection of the crown of Castile, and in conjunction with Don Nugnez de Lara, distressed their old master to such a degree, that he caused it to be intimated to Don Alonso, that he was willing to return to his allegiance, if his submission might be received upon easy terms. The king sent him word, that if he was in earnest he should meet him at Alcala Real. The Moor, upon his bare promise, notwithstanding all that had passed, went thither, and submitted to the terms he prescribed, and abandoned his confederate the king of Murcia. In the mean time, the king of Arragon made an absolute conquest of that kingdom, or at least of the greatest part of it, not for himself, but on the behalf of his son-in-law, to whom he immediately gave advice of his success, and desired him to send thither a corps of troops sufficient to secure it. Don Alonso marched in person from Seville with his army, and on the frontiers met the king of Murcia, who threw himself upon his knees at his feet, and sued to him for his pardon. The king told him, that for his life or liberty he had nothing to fear, but that he could not expect he should put into his hands a second time the power of hurting him.

The king of Granada submits and offers to renew his homage to Don Alonso.

The king then left the infant Don Manuel, governor of Murcia, and obliging the Moors to quit all the strong places, repeopled them with subjects of his own, or with those of the king of Arragon; and thus, in a short time, and with as little effusion of blood as possible, he put an end, at least for the present, to a very formidable conspiracy, and might, if he would have declined all thoughts of Germany, have recovered his former reputation, restored the grandeur of his crown, and peace to his subjects ^o.

A.D. 1266.

All Murcia reduced and re-peopled by Christians from different kingdoms.

^m Prandaon. Emanuel de Faira y Sousa. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ⁿ Rainald. Roderic Santii Hist. Hisp. par. iv. ^o Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

In the course of the same year, the infant Don Ferdinand of Castile espoused, by proxy, the princess Blanche, daughter to St. Lewis, on the 8th of September, at St. Germain en Laye ^p. The cause between the two kings of the Romans was still depending at Rome, where Don Alonso laboured by every method possible to support what he called his right, and this at a vast expence, notwithstanding that his ambassador, the bishop of Silves, had been murdered in his passage by some banditti, who took his papers from him ^q: on the other hand, the princes of Germany, sick of their own schemes, and perceiving the real necessity of having a chief, had agreed with the king of Bohemia to proceed to a new election; but this the pope, who pretended a right to declare which of the two was the true king of the Romans, vehemently opposed ^r. The next year was signalized by the most pompous marriage that till then had been seen in Spain, prince Philip, heir apparent of the crown of France, conducting his sister the princess Blanche to Burgos, where she espoused the infant Don Ferdinand, in presence of all the royal family of Spain ^s, and the king of Arragon.

A.D 1268.

*The kings
of Castile
and Arra-
gon form at
the same
time, noti-
ons of tra-
velling.*

The infant Don Sancho of Arragon, being consecrated archbishop of Toledo, soon after celebrated his first mass with great ceremony, in the presence of the two kings, his father, and his brother-in-law. After these fine shews, both monarchs, as if it had been by concert, entered upon schemes diametrically opposite to the prudence for which they were both famous. The king of Arragon, though much in years, would needs go to the Holy Land, though Don Alonso did all that was in his power to dissuade him. On the other hand, this monarch himself was as much bent upon a voyage to Italy to as little purpose; but in the end, both their schemes proved abortive. The king of Arragon met with a storm at sea, which drove him to France, from whence he returned into his own dominions ^t. As for Don Alonso, the states of Castile interposed, when he was ready to set out, and represented the inconveniencies that would attend his leaving the kingdom at that juncture in so strong a light, that he wisely, though unwillingly, dropped his design ^u. He persisted,

^p P. Daniel Hist. de France.
reras.

^r Rainald.

Hispán. par Florian de Ocampo.

Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. Zurit. Annal. Arragon.

reras. Mayerne Turquet.

^q Rainald. Mariana. Fer-

^s Chronica General de

^t Chronica del Rey

^u Ma-

however, against all advice, in remitting, as some Spanish historians say, the homage due from the crown of Portugal to that of Leon, out of affection for his grandson, the infant Denis; a measure which excited, or at least gave a plausible colour to those discontents, that produced so many and so great troubles, and even shook the throne upon which he sat ^u.

A.D. 1269.

The king Don Alonso had still his voyage to Italy in his head, with a view to which he laboured, by every method he could devise, to raise money; but when he imagined that he had at length brought all things to bear, he was informed that many of the first rank, amongst whom were the infant Don Philip, Don Nugnez de Lara, Don Lopez de Haro, Don Ferdinand de Castro, Don Lopez de Mendoza, and several others, had met together at the castle of Lara, in order to consider of grievances arising from his administration: the king, still fond of his journey, from which one would have imagined this intelligence would have diverted him, instead of taking measures to chastise the malecontents, sent to know their demands, and promised to comply with whatever should be reasonable ^v. Their answer was very artful, and perfectly calculated to serve their purpose; for, though they had laid the scheme of their operations, they were in great want of money to carry them into execution; they therefore informed the king that they had no intention to disturb his government or depart from their duty, but that they met together to concert the means for obtaining their appointments. The king weakly imagining that this satisfaction would make them quiet, paid each of them the sum he demanded, which money they no sooner received, than they employed it in levying troops ^x.

A deep conspiracy secretly managed against Don Alonso of Castile.

A.D. 1270.

The next step they took, was to endeavour to engage the king of Navarre to enter into their league, in which attempt they failed; but Don Nugnez de Lara persuaded the king of Granada to dispose all things for a rupture, and to demand succours from the king of Morocco. Alonso being informed of this scheme, sent to them Don Juan de Lara, and the bishop of Cuenca, to let them know that he meant to summon the states at Burgos, and that if they had any complaints to make they would do well to appear there. The confederate lords accordingly met the king at Larma, each at the head of his troops;

Breaks out, and the malecontents retire to the Moors.

^u Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Ferreras.

^v Mariana.

^x Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

A.D. 1271.

but behaved towards him with all the exterior marks of duty and respect, and accompanied him to Burgos, but would not enter the city. There Don Alonso held the assembly of the states, and made new propositions to them, which they rejected, and, as the custom was in those times, demanded leave to quit his dominions, which they accordingly received *. They then began to defile with their troops towards the kingdom of Granada; and though the queen sent the infants Don Ferdinand and Don Sancho her sons, and the infant Don Sancho, archbishop of Toledo, her brother, to persuade them to desist from this strange enterprize, it was in vain, and they continued their route. The king of Granada attacked the two governors of Malaga and Guadix, and Don Alonso declined supporting them, being still in hopes of making peace †. His competitor, Richard, earl of Cornwall, was dead, and his mind ran as strongly as ever upon the empire, though there was never less probability of his attaining it ‡.

A.D. 1272.

Don Alonso calls an assembly of the states at Almagro, and reduces the taxes.

At the request of the queen, he sent the grand-master of Calatrava once more to the malecontents, with an offer to forget what was past, and to restore them to their employments and his favour. They answered, that before they could treat, he must do justice to their friend the king of Granada, against his rebel governors. The king made a short and cool reply, that subjects had no right to prescribe to their sovereign whom he should protect. In the mean time, the king of Granada attacked and defeated the two alcaides; upon which Don Alonso disposed all things for a war, and having assembled the states at Almagro, he remitted some and moderated other taxes, which measures disposed them to make such returns of submission and loyalty, as left him no room to doubt that he should be able to do himself justice. But at this juncture, having intelligence that Rodolph of Hapsburg was elected emperor of Germany, he suddenly changed his measures, and renewed the peace with the king of Granada, notwithstanding all that was passed.

A.D. 1273.

In the meantime the Christian malecontents make a new king of Granada.

The king of Arragon behaved upon this occasion like a wise prince and a faithful ally. He ordered the prince, his son, to assemble an army on the frontiers of Murcia, sent the bishop of Segorba to advise the malcontents to return to their duty, and to embrace the kind offers that

* Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.
Rey don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

† Rainald.

‡ Chron. del

had

had been made them by their sovereign; and upon their rejecting this proposition, he acquainted Don Alonso, that he would punctually perform his treaties, and act again all his enemies. In this critical situation of things, died Mohammed Abcadilla Alhamar, which had like to have produced disturbances in Granada, but the Christian malecontents, and particularly Don Lopez de Haro, advanced his son Mohammed Alhamir Alhadic to the throne, and supported him, notwithstanding there was a strong faction formed against him in favour of one of his brothers ^a. Don Alonso was no sooner informed of his accession, than he sent a person of quality to make fresh propositions to the new king and to the malecontents, who received them civilly, and seemed to be out of countenance at the consideration of their own behaviour. The queen and the infant Ferdinand, invited them to a conference at Alcala, where all things were compromised, upon an assurance that the king would receive them kindly; and that, in consideration of a considerable sum of money, he would accept the new king of Granada, upon the same terms that his father had held the crown ^b.

This agreement being signed on both sides, was transmitted to the king, who ratified it without difficulty; and the king of Granada going to pay his respects to him at Seville, he not only performed punctually all that had been stipulated, but likewise conferred on him the order of knighthood with his own hand, which was then esteemed the highest obligation. At Burgos a general assembly was held of the states, where the infant Don Philip and the malecontents were restored to favour; and at this time it was that the king caused the body of his predecessor Wamba to be removed from the obscure place where it was buried, and to be interred in a manner suitable to his rank, at Toledo. But he had still the empire at heart; and this motive induced him to send ambassadors to the pope and council at Lyons, to dissuade that assembly from confirming the election of the emperor Rodolph. This endeavour had no effect; on the contrary, the pope not only confirmed the election, but wrote to the king of Castile to desist from all farther disturbances about his title; and, by way of gilding this bitter pill, he sent the king at the same time a bull, by which he permitted him to take a third part of the tenths of his clergy for six years.

The malecontents with much difficulty reconciled to the king Don Alonso.

^a Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.
Ferrerias, Mayerne, Turquet.

^b Mariana,

A D. 1274.

Mohammed, king of Granada, invites the Moors over from Africa.

All this condescension did not hinder the king from desiring an interview, which the pope could not now civilly decline. The king leaving his son the infant Don Ferdinand regent, set out as soon as the assembly of the states separated, for France, by the way of Arragon, and kept his Christmas at Barcelona, with the king his father-in-law, who received him with great affection, and paid him all imaginable honours.

The departure of Don Alonso was no sooner known, than Mohammed Alhamir Alboadic sent to Aben Joseph, king of Morocco, a representation of the state of things, to shew how favourable an opportunity they had of recovering, at least, all Andalusia out of the hands of the Christians, since the king, who was incontestibly the best officer in Spain, had withdrawn himself, conferring the regency on a young prince of no experience, and trusting the best fortresses in his kingdom in the hands of those who had been lately in rebellion. Aben Joseph, who was zealous for his religion, willingly promised him all that he demanded, on condition that the ports of Tarriffa and Algeriza, in the bay of Gibraltar, were put into his hands, directing him to dispose every thing for opening the campaign early. These steps he took with such profound dissimulation, availing himself therein of his former acquaintance with the Castilian officers, that the Christians had little or no suspicion of his design.

Aben Joseph lands in Spain, and defeats Don Nugnez de Lara, who is slain.

In the spring, Aben Joseph entered the bay of Gibraltar with his fleet, and seventeen thousand fine troops on board; and the king of Granada's alcaides, according to the orders they had received, put the places that were promised him into his hands. The troops were no sooner landed, than Joseph sent a detachment to join the king of Granada, who immediately began his march towards Jaen, at the same time that the emperor of Morocco advanced to Cordova. Don Nugnez de Lara commanded in the little city of Ecija, from whence he dispatched a courier to the infant Don Ferdinand, who was at Burgos, and at the same time drew together what forces he could, with whom he took the field; Aben Joseph immediately attacked him, and having a great superiority, routed the handful of men under his command: but Don Nugnez himself, and most of the gentlemen who had followed his party in the late troubles, were killed upon the spot. The king having caused the body of Don Nugnez to be carefully sought out, cut off his head, and sent it in triumph to the king of Granada, who remembering his former friendship

friendship with that nobleman, and that to his assistance he owed the crown he wore, returned it to the Christians, that it might be buried with his body at Cordova^c. But notwithstanding this victory, the king of Morocco found his troops so roughly handled, that he spent the rest of the campaign in ravaging the country about Seville, without undertaking any siege.

The forces of the king of Granada were at this time employed in plundering the country about Jaen, and against these marched the infant Don Sancho, archbishop of Toledo, with the bands of Madrid, Talavera, Alcala, Guadalaxara, Hueta, and Cuenca. On his arrival at Martos, he had intelligence that the Moors were at no great distance; and that, though they were very numerous, they were excessively fatigued and embarrassed with a great booty of cattle. This intelligence induced him to follow them with his cavalry, without waiting for Don Lopez de Haro, who would have joined him the next day. This rashness cost him dear, his forces being defeated and himself killed^d. Don Lopez, who followed him with all imaginable expedition, met and preserved the flying remains of his army, and with them and his own forces, attacked the Moors, and recovered the cross of the archbishop out of their hands, but with difficulty and so great loss, that he was able to undertake nothing more^e. The infant Don Ferdinand began his march from Burgos with a small body of troops, and proceeded slowly, that the nobility might have time to join him, till he received an account of what had befallen Don Nugnez de Lara and the infant Don Sancho, upon which he marched so hastily to Ciudad Real, that he contracted a fever, of which he died in a few days, recommending to his favourite Don Juan de Lara, the princess Blanche, and his two sons Don Alonso and Don Ferdinand de la Cerda, both very young, with whom, and the body of their father, Don Juan returned to Burgos.

The troops of the king of Granada, rout the Castilians, and kill the archbishop of Toledo.

The infant Don Sancho, the king's second son, on the news of his brother's misfortune, repaired to Ciudad Real, did all that could be expected from him to encourage the forces, and was quickly joined by Don Lopez de Haro, to whom, in the midst even of that confusion, he communicated the designs he had already formed of

A stop put to the success of these infidels by the infant Don Sancho.

^c Ferreras, Historia de Hispania, p. vi. fest. xliii. del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^d Chron. Mariana, Ferreras,

Mayerne, Turquet.

seizing the throne. He proceeded from Ciudad Real to Cordova, from whence he dispatched Don Lopez de Haro to Ecija, and the grand-masters of St. James and Calatrava to Jaen; then leaving a good garrison in Cordova, under Don Ferdinand de Castro, he marched in person with the rest of his forces to Seville, where he equipped a strong fleet, which cruizing in the streights of Gibraltar, so alarmed the king of Morocco, that he retired with his army to Algeriza^f. While things were in this state in Spain, the king Don Alonso was treating with the pope at Baucaire, where he endeavoured to persuade him that the election of the emperor Rodolph was void; and that, as he was ready to resign the kingdom of Castile to his son the infant Don Ferdinand, there was nothing to hinder his going directly to Germany, and taking upon him the government. The pope being of quite another opinion, the king next insisted on his pretensions to the duchy of Suabia, in right of his mother, to which the pontiff was equally deaf. While the negotiation was in this awkward condition, came the news of the death of the two infants, which so far awakened the king from his dreams, that he resolved to return immediately into Spain. He at the same time remitted money into Italy, for the use of his partizans in that country. He wrote to the king of Bohemia, and to the princes of Germany, desiring them to remain firm to his interest, assuring them that, as soon as the affairs of Castile should be settled, they might depend upon his coming amongst them; in which letters, he continued to use the imperial style^g. These steps being taken, he returned with as much haste as possible into his dominions, having spent immense sums of money, and obtained nothing.

A.D. 1275.

Don Sancho claims the crown against the children of his elder brother.

The king, Don Alonso, being arrived at Alcala de Henares, and hearing wherever he passed prodigious encomiums of the infant Don Sancho, sent for him from Seville; but that prince excused himself, under pretence that the then state of affairs made it improper for him to quit the frontiers; whereas, in reality, he was negotiating, by the assistance of Don Alonso de Guzman, a peace with the Moors, which he conceived absolutely necessary to the conducting his designs. Accordingly a truce being concluded he set out for Toledo, to which city his father was come to meet him, and there the first

^f *Annales Ecclesiasticos y Seculares de la Ciudad de Sevilla, par D. Diego Ortiz de Zuniga.* ^g Rainald.

proposal was made, that he should be declared heir apparent to the crown. It does not appear that Don Alonso was at all averse to this measure; but foreseeing the miseries that must attend a divided title, he was unwilling to act precipitately, or without good advice; and therefore directed an assembly of the states to be held at Segovia, to determine the right of succession, according to the laws of Spain. This assembly was accordingly held, and upon mature deliberation, and with the advice of the best lawyers of those times, the infant Don Emanuel, the king's brother, pronounced the judgment of that assembly to be, that the infant Don Ferdinand, dying in the lifetime of his father, the right of succession was clearly in the infant Don Sancho ^b.

The king, Don Alonso, seems to have been passive in this matter, or at most did no more than acquiesce in the judgment of the states. When that assembly broke up, he proceeded to Burgos, where he met with an ambassador from Philip the Hardy, king of France, who demanded the restitution of the portion given with the princess Blanche, and that the right of her sons to the crown should be well secured. To this demand Don Alonso made a short answer, that the princess should enjoy her portion and her dowry in Castile; that the states had adjudged the right of succession to the infant Don Sancho; and that he did not conceive it by any means expedient, that the princess and her children should leave his dominions; on which the ambassador departed in great discontent ¹. At his return to France, king Philip was so much offended at the report he made of his negotiation, that he began to dispose every thing for obtaining by the sword what had been refused to his intercession. It happened very fortunately, that at this time cardinal Julian, a native of Lisbon, being elected pope, and assuming the name of John the Twenty-first, interfered warmly between the two kings, and even threatened with excommunication and interdict the king and kingdom of France, in case that monarch should commit hostilities on the king of Castile. He also interposed with Edward the First, king of England, to whom Philip had sent an ambassador to represent the injustice done to the infants Alonso and Ferdinand de la Cerda; and it is agreed, that, by his means, the war was hindered from breaking out ^k. The king of Castile

The crown of France interposes in support of those children.

^b Mariana Historia general de Hispania, lib. xlii. Ferreras Hist. de Hispania, part. vii. sect. xlii.

¹ Gul. de Nangis.

^k Rainald.

flattered himself with the hopes of great things in other respects, from this pontiff, who had a great affection for Spain; but he was unfortunately killed by the fall of a new apartment built by his own direction, in the spring of the ensuing year, and so the king's hopes of favour at Rome vanished¹.

Donna Yolanda or Violante, queen of Castile, retires with Donna Beatrix and the infants.

The monarch of France, if we may credit the best of the historians of that country, resented so highly the ill usage and injustice done to the princess his daughter, and her children, that, without respecting any interpositions, he was for attacking the dominions of the king of Castile without delay; but it seems his nobility and general officers were not so much inclined to a war, which, at its very entrance, would put them to greater labour in passing the Pyrences, than any in which they had been engaged. Therefore, under colour of making the necessary preparations, they delayed things for many months^m. In the mean time, Donna Yolanda, or, as the French writers style her, Donna Violanteⁿ, queen of Castile, being very much offended with the setting aside of the children of Don Ferdinand, her eldest son, made an overture to the king of Arragon, her father, to receive her, together with her daughter-in-law and her grand-children, into his protection; which he had no sooner promised, than, by the care and assistance of Don Juan de Lara, who remained unalterably fixed in his fidelity to his master's family, the queen of Castile, the princess Blanche her daughter-in-law, and the two young infants, retired into the dominions of Arragon^o. This retreat gave great displeasure to Don Alonso, and much more to the infant Don Sancho, who, finding that the infant Don Frederick and Don Simon Ruez de los Cameres were not entirely ignorant of the queen's design, he caused the former, though his uncle, to be either strangled or beheaded, and the house of the latter being set on fire, he perished in the flames^p. Before the close of the year war was declared between France and Castile in form^q.

A.D. 1277.

Don Alonso, king of Castile, compelled by the pope to renew the war with the Moors.

Pope Nicholas the Third was to the full as earnest as his predecessor, in his endeavours to compromise the difference between the crowns. For this purpose he employed two cardinals, with the titles of legates; but finding a

¹ Martinus Polonus Chr. Prolog. Leuensis, Hist. Eccl. lib. xxiii. cap. 24. ^m P. Daniel Histoire de France, Ferreras.

ⁿ Mézeray. ^o Zurita Annal. Arragon. ^p Chronica General de Hispana. ^q Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

backwardness in the king of Castile, he proceeded with him in a more peremptory manner. He sent him word, that for the support of his wars against the infidels, his predecessor had permitted him to levy a tax upon the clergy, for which reason he expected that he should immediately renew the war against the infidels, or discontinue the tax^r. Upon this intimation the king was constrained to break the truce he had made, and to send an army commanded by his sons Don Pedro and Don Alonso, to besiege Algeriza, and he likewise fitted out a fleet with instructions to block up that place by sea^s. The quarrel in the royal family was by this time composed; the queen consented to return to her husband, the princess Blanche was allowed to go into France, and the two infants were kept by the king of Arragon^t. This accommodation one would have imagined, must have been attended with favourable circumstances, but it happened otherwise. The queen thought it beneath her to return into Castile, without discharging the debts she owed in Arragon; the king's finances were so low, and the demands of the public upon him so pressing, that he could not spare her that sum; but the infant Don Sancho went to Seville, seized upon a Jew who was treasurer at war to the army commanded by his brethren, and taking the sum requisite from him sent it to his mother^u. This violence proved the ruin both of the army and the fleet. The former was exceedingly weakened by famine; the latter defeated by the Moors, the more easily, as being very indifferently supplied. Aben Joseph, king of Morocco, coming over, forced the two young princes to raise the siege with great loss; and observing afterwards that their camp was in a much better situation than that of the town, he caused the place, which bears now the name of Algeriza, to be erected there, and directed the old town to be demolished. Towards the close of the year, the king who had rejected Thoulouse, when proposed by the pope, for the place of a congress, in which the differences subsisting with the crown of France, might be determined, because it was in that prince's dominions, yet readily approved of Bourdeaux, which was in the hands of the king of England; and where, under the mediation of the pope, a negotiation was begun. The French, nevertheless, began their march

A.D. 1278.

^r Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica Gener. de Hispana. ^s Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^t Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^u Chron. General de Hispana. Ferreras Historia de Hispana part vi. sect. xiii.

towards Navarre, upon notice of which, Don Alonso sent an army into that country likewise, which advanced within three leagues of Pampeluna, but could not prevent the French from becoming masters of that city, where, under various pretensions, they committed great excesses.

*Terminates
the war
against the
king of
Morocco,
in order to
attack the
monarch of
Granada.*

The conferences held at Bourdeaux, at the request, and under the mediation of the pope, were opened on the first of May, but without producing what was expected from them; for the French plenipotentiaries, insisting that the infant Don Alonso de la Cerda, should be declared heir apparent of the crown of Castile, the commissioners on the part of Don Alonso alleged they had no powers to treat upon that point; and this deficiency stopped all proceedings for the present. In the mean time Don Alonso prepared for chastising the king of Granada; but, previously he found it necessary to settle all disputes between him and the king of Morocco; a point which he at last brought to bear, and a truce was actually concluded ^w. It grew from hence into a received opinion amongst his subjects, that he meant to leave the Moors in quiet; and therefore the clergy complained loudly of his applying the revenues of vacant sees, and of part of the tythes due to the clergy, to the uses of the state. They applied themselves to the pope, who wrote in very strong terms to the king, and to the infant Don Sancho, to forbear such practices, and not to violate the immunities of the church. However, the king and his son, knowing their own intentions best, proceeded notwithstanding; and having engaged the king of Arragon to remain strictly neutral, in respect to their differences with the crown of France, caused a very numerous army to assemble in that part of Andalusia, which was already subject to the crown of Castile ^x.

A.D. 1279.

*Negotiations with
the crown
of France,
and secret
alliance
with that
of Arra-
gon.*

The king, Don Alonso, early in the spring, repaired to Seville, and being afflicted with a distemper in his eyes, the infant Don Sancho commanded the army this campaign against the Moors, but without any considerable success. On the other hand, a proposition being made for a personal conference between the kings of France and Castile, at Auch in Gascony, Don Alonso began his journey through the kingdom of Arragon, where he had a long interview with the king; and, as some say, very important resolutions were formed, in consequence of what

^w Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chronica General de Hispana.

^x Zurit. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. Chron. General de Hispana.

passed at these conferences. But however that may be, it is certain that the other interview did not take effect, for reasons that are no where clearly explained; but the negotiation between France and Castile went on; and, as some say, an agreement was at length concluded, by which the infant Don Alonso de la Cerda was to have the kingdom of Murcia for himself and his heirs, for which, however, he was to do homage to the infant Don Sancho, when he should become king of Castile ¹. About this time began those heart-burnings between the king and the infant who was to succeed him, by which afterwards both the court and the kingdom suffered severely.

A.D. 1280.

The war against Granada was prosecuted with much bloodshed, but little success. Don Sancho, who piqued himself upon an unreasonable and extravagant bravery, exposed himself during the campaign in such a manner, that if the king had not sent him a timely reinforcement of cavalry, he and those who were about him must have been either made prisoners or cut to pieces; which rash and indiscreet conduct, instead of lessening, raised his credit with the army ². A negotiation followed the campaign, but to no effect; for Don Sancho insisted upon such terms without a victory, as would have been thought hard, if the king of Granada had been at his mercy. Before the troops quitted the field, there happened a very remarkable event. A considerable body of banditti, who had enriched themselves by their booty, intreated the king to pardon them a little before the campaign, with which request the king complied, upon condition that they should serve all that year at their own expence. But after they had performed this condition, and behaved with remarkable gallantry, they demanded a compensation, and threatened if they had it not, they would return to their old trade. Don Alonso temporized with them a little, till a body of horse fell into their rear, and then caused them to be surrounded and cut to pieces ³.

The infant Don Sancho prevents the conclusion of a peace with the crown of Granada.

A.D. 1281.

In order to reduce the distracted state of his affairs into some order, the king appointed an assembly of the states at Seville, which was accordingly held, and was more numerous than usual. The king told them that he was sensible of the heavy load of taxes under which they laboured; that, notwithstanding, money must be raised for

Assembly of the states at Seville, in which the nobility differ with the king Don Alonso.

¹ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ² Chronica General de Hispana. Ferreras Historia de Hispan. par. vi. sec. xiii. ³ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

reducing the king of Granada ; and instead of an additional tax, he advised the giving a currency to copper money, not as an eligible measure, but as an expedient dictated by necessity. The states, though very unwilling, yielded their assent. The king then opened to them the agreement which he had concluded in respect to the kingdom of Murcia, in order to put an end to the disputes with France. Upon this explanation the infant Don Sancho withdrew with his dependents. The rest of the members, being cajoled by that ambitious prince, who told them that age and infirmities had rendered his father incapable of government, and that for the future he would take the administration upon himself, withdrew likewise. In the next place, as if he had been already king, he made a treaty with the monarch of Granada, and accepted a sum of money instead of those hard terms which he had before prescribed. His brethren, the infants Juan and Pedro, concurred with him in these measures, and abandoned their father in his old age^a.

Declare the infant Don Sancho regent, and deprive the king of his dignity.

Don Sancho spent the winter in labouring by himself, his brothers, and his adherents, to engage the people every where in his party. In this aim he succeeded so well, that in the month of April, when the states assembled at Valladolid, they were inclined, upon the motion of Don Emanuel his uncle, in the presence of his mother, to give him the title of king ; but that, with great appearance of modesty, he refused : however, he made no difficulty of accepting the regal power with the title of regent^b. His brothers, either repenting of what they had done, or being disappointed in their expectations, left him ; and though he could not but foresee that troubles must ensue, he engaged in a marriage that seemed calculated to excite them ; for he espoused Donna Maria, the daughter of Don Alonso de Molina his great uncle, and then went in great state to Cordova^c. The king Don Alonso was no sooner acquainted with what had passed at Valladolid, than he wrote to most of the nobility and to the magistrates of all the great cities, to espouse his cause, and relinquish all connection with the infant Don Sancho. The town of Badajos singly paid that obedience which was due to the orders of their sovereign ; who find-

A.D 1282.

^a Chronica General de Hispana. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^b Chron. Var. Antiq. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^c Roderic Santii, Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chronica General de Hispana.

ing himself abandoned by the kings of France, Arragon, and Portugal, and not knowing which way to turn, demanded assistance of the king of Morocco, who in a short time came over with an army into Spain, and joined Don Alonso. In the mean time the infant Don Sancho advanced with his forces towards Badajos, which he summoned, but the inhabitants remained firm, and prepared for a siege: this, however, was prevented, by the appearance of Don Alonso at the head of a numerous body of Moors. The two kings besieged Cordova without effect, after which attempt they returned to Seville, where Aben Joseph took his leave of the Christian monarch, who in a transport of rage, by a solemn act dated November the 12th, disinherited his son, and bequeathed his curse to him and all his adherents.

The pope exerted all his influence in favour of the king, and obliged the grand-masters of the military orders to declare for him, and to secure all the places in their power; at the same time he threatened the infant Don Sancho on account of his marriage, which he declared null ^d. The infant Don Sancho brought back his brother Don Pedro, partly by force, partly by rewards. But he found all methods vain with respect to Don Alvaro de Lara, who seized the city of Palencia; and when the infant demanded for whom he held it, answered plainly for Don Alonso, my master and your's. However, finding himself pushed by a superior force, he offered to leave the kingdom; which proposal being accepted, he retired into Portugal, with his followers; and, having increased their number considerably, he repaired to Don Alonso at Badajos ^e. The infant Don James, who had been always dutiful, seized some places on the frontiers of Navarre; in which, however, he would have been forced, if Don Juan de Lara, who had followed the fortunes of the infants de la Cerda, and who was then in the French service, had not marched to his relief. The king of Morocco returned about this time with great forces; and having conferred with Don Alonso, resolved to open the war by reducing the king of Granada. Upon this occasion the king of Castile sent him a corps of about a thousand men, under the command of Don Ferdinand Perez, who, because he would not incorporate them with the Moors, was so much suspected by Aben Joseph, that he found it requisite to

Aben Joseph, king of Fez and Morocco, comes from Africa to the aid of Don Alonso.

^d Chron. general de Hispan. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

^e Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. Brandaon.

A.D. 1283.

quit the camp, and retire towards Seville. The people of Cordova, attempted to surprize and surround him; but Don Ferdinand and his forces behaved so gallantly, that they were totally routed, with very considerable loss, and amongst them many persons of distinction were slain or taken. This event troubled Don Sancho very much, and, which is singular, he thought fit to declare, that they had met with no more than they deserved, for being wantonly the aggressors against their king and his father; as if his own want of duty had not excited their's.

The king by his last will disinherits the infant Don Sancho, and calls to the succession the infants de la Cerda.

The whole Christian power in Spain was now involved in discord and confusion; in Portugal, the king was excommunicated, and the kingdom threatened with an interdict; Don Pedro, king of Arragon, was engaged in a war with France, about Navarre, in which the French had the assistance of the partizans of Don Alonso of Castile, while the Arragoneses were supported by the royal infant Don Sancho. These dissensions afforded the Moors an opportunity of raising their heads, which, however, they overlooked; for Aben Joseph, having formed a scheme of conquering Granada, and finding little assistance from Don Alonso, returned in displeasure to Africa^f. The old king of Castile, finding himself indisposed, confirmed on the 8th of November his last will and testament, by which he solemnly disinherited the infant Don Sancho, for his ingratitude, and called to the succession, in his stead, the infants de la Cerda, and, failing their heirs, the kings of France^g. In the mean time, the infant Don Sancho acted quite another part; he assembled the nobility at Palencia. There he represented that what he had done he did by their advice; that he meant to preserve and not to destroy the kingdom; that he now expected they would name a person to go to his father and let him know that rebellion was far from their hearts; that therefore they desired he would preserve the kingdom entire, and suspend his applications at Rome, where the pope was on the very point of launching against them the thunders of the church. Accordingly Don Gomez Fernandes, a nobleman of great probity, and who had meddled very little in these affairs, was sent to Seville, with instructions to say and do every

^f Brandaon. Emanuel de Faira y Soufa. Zurita. Annal Arragon. Chron. general de Hispana. ^g Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Rainald. Chron. general de Hispan.

thing that could pacify the king, and engage him to forget, or at least to forgive, every thing that had passed.

About the same time that Don Gomez Fernandes arrived at Seville, Donna Beatrix, queen of Portugal, went thither, to comfort her father under his misfortunes, and Donna Maria, the consort of the infant Don Sancho, who had always preserved her interest with the king, had her agents there likewise. While these negotiations were going on, for both the princesses concurred with Don Gomez, the king added a codicil to his will, on the 22d of January, by which he gave to the infant Don Juan the kingdoms of Seville and Badajos. Yet by degrees he began to be softened; and upon the arrival of news from Salamanca, that the infant Don Sancho had fallen dangerously ill there, and professed the most sincere grief for his conduct towards his father; the old king was affected so much, that it brought him to his grave on Tuesday the 4th of April, in the year 1284, after he had pardoned his son, and revoked all his curses.^b He had by his queen Donna Yoland or Violante, five sons, Don Ferdinand who died in his life time, Don Sancho his successor, Don Juan, Don Pedro who likewise died in his life-time, and Don Jaques or James. By his mistress Donna Maria he had Donna Beatrix, at the time of his demise queen dowager of Portugal; by another mistress, Don Alonso and some other children, of whom however we have no distinct accounts. He was buried in the cathedral of Seville, near St. Ferdinand and Donna Beatrix, and left behind him the character of being a learned man and a weak kingⁱ (A).

Is prevailed on to pardon the royal infant, and finishes his days at Seville.

As

^b Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chron del Rey Don Alonso Sabio, &c.

ⁱ Chron. Var. Antiq. Ferreras.

(A) The character of this great monarch is very differently represented, according to the various tempers of those who have undertaken to transmit his memoirs to posterity, and the several lights in which it might be considered. He is represented by those who lived in his own time as of a grave and serene aspect, majestic air, and very well made in his per-

son. Affable and polite in his conversation, and naturally of a cheerful, open, and generous disposition. His faults were only virtues in excess. He was much too learned for a prince, his magnificence bordered upon profusion, his own candour misled him into credulity. His subjects, however, reaped some great and lasting advantages even from those qualities

Don Sancho enters into the possession of all his father's dominions, notwithstanding his will.

As soon as the infant Don Sancho was recovered from his indisposition, which had brought him to the very brink of the grave, and had an account of his father's death, he went to Toledo, where he was crowned by the archbishop Don Gonçales. He proceeded from thence to Andalusia, after having had a conference with his uncle Don Pedro, king of Arragon, at Ucles, where he renounced all claim to the town and fortrefs of Albarracin, of which Don Juan de Lara was then in possession, and made frequent excursions from thence, sometimes into the dominions of Arragon, and sometimes into those of Castile^k. On the arrival of the king at Seville, he found that his brother, the infant Don Juan, had been labouring to engage the people to support his father's will, by which he was to hold that kingdom; but the nobility interposing, he had been constrained to desist; and perceiving that he could not take a wiser measure, came and did homage to the king Don Sancho, who received him very kindly, and who shewed a disposition to gratify him in every thing, except that of making him a king^l. While he was there, Aben Joseph sent an ambassador to him, whose name was Abdalac, who told him, that his commission was to ask a plain question, whether his master was to consider him as a friend or enemy? To this Don Sancho made none of the plainest answers, he bid him tell the king of Morocco, that he held his bread in one hand and a good staff in the other. Aben Joseph looking upon this declaration as an

^k Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.
Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. Zurita. Annal Arragon.

^l Chron. del

qualities in him, which were most censured; he augmented the privileges, and corrected many of the errors in the statutes made at the foundation of the university of Salamanca; he polished the Castilian tongue; caused a general history of Spain to be composed in that language; directed that body of laws to be compiled therein, which we have mentioned in the text, that all ranks of people might be in a condition to understand the terms upon which their obedience was ex-

pected. Under his auspices also, and at an immense expence, those astronomical tables were drawn up which bear his name. He wrote a book intitled, *The Treasure*, comprehending treatises of rational philosophy, physics, and ethics. He is also said to have been deep read in astrology and chemistry, in which last science, we are told, there are two volumes of his yet remaining in his catholic majesty's library in cypher.

affront,

affront, began immediately to ravage the Christian frontiers. Don Sancho marched with an army to cover them, and with the assistance of the Genoese, sent a very formidable fleet to sea, by which the whole naval power of the Moors was thoroughly defeated; an event which induced Aben Joseph to return into Africa, with a resolution however of being revenged as soon as it should be in his power^m. In the winter the king held an assembly of the states at Seville, where he told them he was resolved to preserve the kingdom entire, to curtail as few of his father's concessions and other acts of generosity as was possible, and to endeavour, by the frugality of his administration, to remove the inconveniences introduced by the dissipation of his father's reign, of whose memory however he spoke very respectfully, intimating, that though his dominions were extensive, and his revenues large, yet they bore no proportion to the greatness of his mindⁿ.

The beginning of the new reign did not pass without some disturbances; but they were very soon suppressed; for Don Sancho, who had acquired the surname of el Bravo, or *the Fierce*, punished with extraordinary severity, and rewarded with great generosity. King Philip of France sent ambassadors to desire that he would not assist the king of Arragon in the war between the two crowns. Don Sancho thereupon dispatched two prelates to the court of France, to let the king know, that, being engaged in a war with the Moors, it was not in his power to assist his uncle; but at the same time he directed those prelates to gain the clearest notions they could of the maxims and forces of that court, that he might be the better able to act when he should find it convenient. In the mean time Aben Joseph returned from Africa with a great fleet and a numerous army; and as soon as he had landed his forces, besieged the town of Xerez de la Frontera. Don Sancho marched immediately with his forces from Toledo to Seville; and, when the Moor little expected it, the Christian fleet appeared in the straits of Gibraltar, consisting of a hundred sail: at the same time Don Sancho, with his army, advanced to the relief of Xerez, upon which Aben Joseph raised the siege and retired in haste. The monarch of Castile would have pursued and forced him to a battle, but his brother the infant Don Juan and Don Lopez de Haro opposed and hindered this design.

Defeats the king of Morocco at sea, and afterwards concludes a peace with him.

^m Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo.
ⁿ Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

ⁿ Chron. gene-

The king then returned to Seville, to which city repaired ambassadors from Morocco and Granada. Don Juan and Don Lopez were for concluding a peace with the former, and continuing the war against the latter; the rest of the council were for a general peace. Don Sancho proposed a conference with Aben Joseph, where, for two millions of maravedies in ready money, the king consented to withdraw his fleet and suffered them to return to Africa^o.

A. D. 1285. The queen was delivered on the 6th of December at Seville, of her son the infant Don Ferdinand, to the great joy of the king, who received the news in his journey to the kingdom of Leon, where, if he did not meet with the most joyful reception, he found at least perfect obedience, which to a monarch of his disposition was almost as acceptable^p.

King Edward the First, of England, offers his mediation between France and Castile.

In the spring of the next year, he sent for his young son from Seville to Burgos, and obliged the states of Castile to own him for heir apparent, though in his cradle. He next sent the archbishop of Toledo and other ambassadors to Bayonne, in hopes of concluding a solid peace with France; but the plenipotentiaries of that power insinuated that the king's marriage was void for want of the pope's approbation, and that the first step to a peace must be his resolving to marry the sister of their king: Sancho, who was himself at St. Sebastian, was no sooner acquainted with this explanation, than he ordered his ambassadors to quit Bayonne, and to return into his own dominions^q. He then went in pilgrimage to St. James, at Compostella, and, under colour of devotion, regulated all the affairs of Galicia; then passing to the city of Palencia, he there held an assembly of the states of Castile and Leon, in which many excellent laws were made for the benefit of his subjects. About this time it was, that king Edward the First, of England, offered his mediation to facilitate the conclusion of a peace between the crowns of France and Castile, to which likewise the pope contributed as far as lay in his power, and actually named two cardinals as his legates, to assist at the conferences. The king, Don Sancho, endeavoured to prevail upon the king, Don Alonso, who had succeeded his father Don Pedro in the kingdom of Arragon, to deliver up to him the infants de la Cerda, a measure which that king very wisely, though very civilly, declined.

^o Chron. general de Hispan. Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo.
^p Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv.
^q P. Daniel Histoire de France.

As the kingdom of Castile had been hitherto distracted by factions, so the intrigues that now broke out amongst the courtiers were attended with consequences no less fatal; Don Gonçales Garcia, bishop of Sigüenza, was the first who had the king's confidence, and was entrusted with the direction of the finances, and had been employed in a negotiation with the crown of France; but upon the discovery that it was he who suggested that the queen's marriage was illegal, the great employment he held was taken from him, and bestowed upon Don Lopez de Haro, who was now in as great credit with the queen as with the king. He was a man of boundless ambition, accumulated titles, posts, and revenues, which rendered him first envied by many, and then, through his own haughty behaviour, odious to all. He had the title of count, which had been for some time disused, was high treasurer and prime minister, while his brother Don Diego de Haro had the command of the forces in Andalusia, and his daughter Donna Maria, married, by the king's consent, his brother the infant Don Juan¹. The haughtiness of Don Lopez, to those who had been before his friends and equals, the loose he gave to his resentment in respect to such as he accounted his enemies, and that spirit of rapine which tempted him to oppress without distinction, brought numberless complaints to the king's ear. As for Don Alvaro de Lara, his patience being wore out, he retired with some of his friends into the dominions of Portugal, where he associated with the infant Don Alonso, and other malecontents in that kingdom, and made some inroads into Castile². These hostilities brought both monarchs into the field, who united their forces against the malecontents; but in the course of the campaign, Don Sancho of Castile, who piqued himself much upon his justice, received such certain information of the ill usage Don Alvaro had received, that, instead of pursuing him to destruction, as he might have done, he received him into his favour, which, however, he did not enjoy long, for he was carried off by a distemper soon after this reconciliation; upon which Don Sancho privately intimated to Don Juan de Lara, who had been so long an exile for acting against him, that, if he would return home, he should not only enjoy his brother's estates, but also his posts and appointments, an offer which he accepted. The

Don Lopez de Haro becomes so great, that the king is jealous of him.

¹ Chron. general de Hispana. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan, p. iv. P. Daniel. Ferreras.

² Brandaon. Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. Chron. Var. Antiq.

king having now a minister he could trust, called an assembly of the states at Toro, where the infant Don Juan and Don Lopez opposed the king's measures, and at last retired from that assembly without concealing their discontent, or the resolution they had taken of raising disturbances, if it was in their power.

The infant Don Juan seized, and Don Lopez de Haro killed, in the king's presence.

A.D. 1288.

The king at first endeavoured to secure their persons, upon which the infant Don Juan retired towards Portugal with his forces, as Don Lopez de Haro did into Castile[†]. The king did not think proper to march with an army against either, but sent for them both to come to him, promising them any satisfaction that was reasonable. The royal infant rejected the proposition as unsafe, but Don Lopez came to the place appointed, with his friends in arms: upon the king's asking him what it was he aimed, and by what authority he raised troops to disturb the public peace, he answered by his own, to redress the injuries which the infant Don Juan and himself had received. After many attempts towards a reconciliation, which ended in nothing, it was agreed, that the royal infant and Don Lopez should meet the king at Alfaro, where all things were to be compromised. At this conference, when the king proposed that Don Lopez should evacuate all the fortresses which he had committed to his charge, that nobleman laid his hand upon his sword, and the infant Don Juan followed his example. The nobility who were about the person of the king, alarmed at these signals, killed the one and arrested the other. This incident threw the whole kingdom into a flame. Don Diego de Haro the brother, and Don Diego the son, of the late Don Lopez, retiring into Aragon, persuaded that monarch to set the infant Don Alonso de la Cerda at liberty, whom they immediately proclaimed king of Castile: their adherents in several places engaged the people to acknowledge and arm in defence of his title; so that a second civil war was begun, with more alarming circumstances than the first[‡] (B).

[†] Emanuel de Fairo y Sousa, de las Historias Portuguesas. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

[‡] Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. Zurita, Annal Arragon. Chron. Var. Antiq.

(B) We have a very large and circumstantial account of this affair in the Spanish histories, out of which it will be proper to give the reader a few particulars that are abso-

lutely necessary to set it in a proper light. When the infant Don Juan first departed so far from his duty as to ravage the country about Salamanca, Don Lopez de Haro was

was

Don Sancho, king of Castile, in the midst of these difficulties supported himself with great firmness: he had a conference with the king of Portugal, from whom he demanded and received succours; but when he was about to have taken the field, he found himself pressed by Philip le Bel, king of France, to meet and confer with him; and as it was a point of great consequence to prevent a breach with that monarch at this juncture, he advanced

Don Alonso de la Cerda and the Arragonese who abet his title, forced to retire.

was at court, to whom the king complained of it with astonishment; upon which Don Lopez told him that he was in the right; that what the infant did was by his advice; and that, if the king would go to Valladolid, he would undertake Don Juan should come to Sigales with his troops, in order to let him know his grievances. The king, Don Sancho, accepted this proposition; he went to Valladolid, and Don Juan, upon notice from his friend, came to him, as he had promised. At this interview the king behaved so mildly, and gratified the infant in so many respects, that things seemed to be pacified. But afterwards, when they both attended the king, who went to confer with the monarch of Arragon, they disappointed his views, by the intelligence they gave to, and the influence they had over, that prince. When Don Sancho came to Alfaro in his own dominions, and saw both the infant Don Juan and Don Lopez there without their usual attendants, he caused a great council to be held of the prelates and nobility, in which he told them, that, since he found they were persons whom good usage could not move, or the greatest favours inspire with any gratitude, he was re-

solved to dismiss them from his service, and expected they should render the places, that he had committed to their care, to such noblemen as he then named. While the king was speaking, Don Lopez laid his right hand upon his sword, wrapped his cloak round his left arm, and having called him a cruel, perfidious, and ungrateful tyrant, suddenly drew, and advanced towards him; upon which one of the nobles cut off his right arm at a blow, and the rest who were present pierced his body with a multitude of weapons. The infant Don Juan, who had wounded several in defence of his father-in-law, when he saw him extended upon the floor, fled to the queen's chamber, to which the king followed him with his sword drawn, and with an intention to have dispatched him; but the queen, putting herself between them, throwing herself upon her knees, by her tears and prayers so wrought upon the king, that he ordered him to be conducted to prison, with a design to prosecute him for this and other acts of treason, which did not hinder his living, as the reader will see, to owe his preservation a second time to the kind interposition of the same good prince.

with a strong corps of troops, as far as St. Sebastian, leaving the command of his army to Don Alonso de Molina, the queen's brother ^w. The king of Arragon, taking the advantage of Don Sancho's absence, entered the dominions of Castile with the infant Don Alonso de la Cerda, who now used the regal title, at the head of an army, which some say fell little short of one hundred thousand men. Don Alonso de Molina advanced towards him, encamped advantageously, but declined fighting till the king should return. He came back sooner than was expected, for the king of France failed at the interview, and then proposed another, which the situation of Don Sancho's affairs would not permit him to expect. Upon his return therefore, and joining his own army with a numerous corps of troops, the king of Arragon retired into his own country, to quell some disturbances that broke out in his absence; and the king Don Sancho following him, wasted all the country as far as the Ebro ^x. For this fruitless attempt, Don Alonso de la Cerda made a cession to the king of Arragon of all Murcia; and, by a treaty of the like nature, gained the king of Granada to acknowledge his title ^y. Don Diego de Haro, the elder, was more fortunate, for he defeated a body of the king of Castile's troops, and ravaged the country about Cuenca and Alarcón. About this time the inhabitants of Badajos had a quarrel with the Portuguese, and Don Sancho, upon hearing the merits, decided in their favour. But when the king's edict came to be put in execution, a new quarrel arose, in which the Portuguese being unarmed were cut to pieces. The people at Badajos dreading the justice of their sovereign, seized upon the citadel, and declared for

A.D. 1289. Don Alonso de la Cerda. The city however was quickly invested by the king's troops, and though the inhabitants defended themselves obstinately, they were at last constrained to surrender at discretion; but the troops, without any respect to the capitulation, put all they found in the place to the sword without mercy.

The king receives great disturbance from the jealousies of Don Juan de Lara.

In the beginning of the next year, the kings of France and Castile had an interview at Bayonne, when it was agreed, that the infants de la Cerda should have the kingdom of Murcia, doing homage for it to the crown of

^w P. Daniel Histoire de France. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ^x Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Zúñit. Annal. Arragon. ^y Chron. Var. Antiq.

Castile ; that king Philip should use his interest at Rome, to engage the pope to confirm the king's marriage ; and that both princes should continue the war against the king of Arragon. In the mean time Don Juan de Lara, being deceived by an anonymous letter, retired from the king's party, and went over to the king of Arragon, to whom he did great service. At length however the queen Donna Maria proposed to him the marriage of her niece, the heiress of Molina, for his son, and hostages for the security of his person ; and upon receiving these he was content to return to his duty^z. Such at that time was the power of the nobility in Spain, and so feeble the authority of kings. In the space of a few months, notwithstanding all these assurances, and the marriage concluded with his son, Don Juan de Lara was again seized with new apprehensions. A nobleman of great rank came to him in the dead of night in the royal palace at Toledo, and told him that a body of armed men had been secretly let in, and that he suspected there was some design against his liberty or life. Don Juan, upon this intimation, attempted with a few of his friends to make his escape ; but finding that impracticable, and having told them the source of his uneasiness, they advised him to apply to the queen. She disclosing it to the king, he sent for him, and upon a solemn promise that he would do him no hurt, drew from him the name of the nobleman who had told him this story. The king did not indeed punish him, but he reproached him in the face of the whole court, told him he was a faithless knight and a lying traitor, reproaches which drew upon him such universal contempt, that he could never afterwards appear in public^a. Don Juan relapsed soon after into fresh inquietudes ; and to draw him out of these, the king promised him, that his own son, the infant Don Alonso, should marry his daughter ; a promise which made him quiet for a little time, and but for a little time ; so that the king was forced to release his brother the infant Don Juan, that he might oppose one faction to another. Affairs however prospered better abroad, for he not only concluded a new treaty with the king of Granada, but, Don Alonso being dead, James the new king of Arragon renewed the ancient treaty between the two crowns ; upon which Don Juan de Lara, seeing he had no resource left in Spain, retired

A.D.1295.

A.D.1298.

^z Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Zurit. Annal Arragon.^a Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo.

into France, though the king omitted nothing to have delivered him from his jealousies, and the queen still continued her kindness and protection to his family.

*Don Alonso
victorious
over the
Moors by
sea and
land.*

A D 1292.

Aben Joseph, king of Morocco, either considering the treaty which the king of Castile had made with the monarch of Granada as a breach of the peace made with him, or as preparatory to a war, began to assemble the troops and shipping, of which preparations the king of Castile had very early intelligence. He immediately took into his pay the famous Benedict Zachary, a Genoese admiral, who had commanded his fleet in the former war; and being supplied with a large sum of money by the states of his several kingdoms, and auxiliary squadrons from the kings of Arragon and Portugal, he attacked the Moors by sea and land. His admiral had the good fortune to disperse the enemy's fleet, and to destroy a great part of it. The king, after a long siege, reduced Tarefa, and put a strong garrison into it; he likewise concluded a peace in quality of mediator between the crowns of Arragon and Naples, to their reciprocal satisfaction, and received the strongest assurances from the crown of France, that the late treaty should be punctually complied with, and no encouragement whatever given to any of his malecontents ^a. Donna Elizabeth, the wife of Don Juan de Lara the younger, dying without issue, her husband became, from that circumstance only, one of the number.

*The infant
Don Juan
falls first
into discon-
tent, and at
length into
rebellion.*

A.D. 1293.

The infant Don Juan, forgetting the clemency with which the king had treated him, entered into fresh cabals. Having drawn Don Juan de Lara the younger into his party, they quickly assembled a great number of seditious and licentious persons, and with them broke out into open rebellion. The king marched against them with an army, and pressed them so hard, that the infant was forced to take shelter in his town of Valentia, which from him is still called Valentia; Don Juan and his associate threw himself, with some troops, into Castro Torafa, at no great distance ^b. The king was no sooner informed of this circumstance than he came and encamped between those two places, without besieging either; but published an edict, forbidding any to supply them with provision, on pain of death. This quickly reduced Don Juan de Lara, and his people, to such distress, that he went to the king,

^a Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Brandaon. P. Daniel. ^b Chronica General de Hispan. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

and in the most humble manner desired his pardon ; Don Sancho received him kindly, bid him remember his distress, how he came into it, and by whom he was delivered. The news of this clemency brought his father back, whom the king entrusted with the command of his army against the infant Don Juan, who had made his escape into Portugal. The infant invited Don Juan de Lara to a conference, under pretence that he had a mind to submit to the king, and then, in breach of his faith, made him prisoner ; but the king of Portugal set him immediately at liberty ; upon which he returned into Castile, adhered steadily to the king, and died the next year in his service ^c.

The infant Don Henry, son to St. Ferdinand, and uncle to Don Sancho, returned this year from Italy, to revisit his native country, after having run through a long series of strange adventures. The king received him very kindly at Burgos, and granted him such a settlement as was suitable to his high rank, and near relation to the royal family ^d. Upon his application to the king of Portugal, not to protect his brother, the infant Don Juan transported himself to Morocco, and finding Jacob Aben Joseph meditating a war, he offered, if he would give him five thousand horse, and some foot, to recover Terefa, which his brother had taken the year before. His proposal was accepted, and having embarked his forces in Andalusia, he invested Terefa with a numerous army. The place was defended by Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, with such spirit, that the Moors began to be discouraged. The infant Don Juan being informed that the governor had a little son at nurse in an adjacent village, he caused the child to be brought to him, and then bid the Castilian advanced guard tell the governor, that, if he did not immediately surrender the place, he would cut the child's throat before his eyes. This declaration occasioning some commotion in the garrison, Don Alonso rose from dinner to know what was the matter, and coming upon the walls, saw Don Juan with his son in his hand, and heard him repeat his threats. Don Alonso immediately drew out his sword, and throwing it to the infant, said, " If you, who were born a prince, and educated a Christian, dare to commit so execrable a villainy, know that I dare both keep the

*An act of
perfidious
and un-
manly cru-
elty com-
mitted by
the infant
Don Juan.*

^c Chronica General de Hispan. Brandaon. Roderic Santii, Hist. Hispan. par. iii. ^d Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo,

A.D. 1294.

place and furnish you with a weapon." This address, though it struck both the Moors and the garrison with admiration, had no effect upon the monster to whom it was directed, since, in the sight of both, he took up the sword and butchered the poor infant. The length of the siege gave Don Sancho time to come to its relief, with a numerous army, upon which the Moors raised the siege, and Don Juan, being afraid to go back to Morocco, deserted them, and retired to the king of Granada, to whom Aben Joseph yielded Algeriza, the only place he had left in Spain, that he might be rid of any connections with that country^c: a resolution however to which himself and his successors did not always adhere.

The death of Don Sancho the Fierce, and the condition of the kingdom at his decease.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the king, whose health had been long declining, found himself so much worse, that he resolved to take the speediest and the properest method for settling his temporal and his spiritual concerns. He made his will, in the presence of the archbishop of Toledo, and of such other prelates and great lords as were near his person, by which he appointed the queen tutorefs and regent of the infant Don Ferdinand, his successor, to whom the infant Don Henry, and all who were present, took the oath of fidelity^f. He removed afterwards to Toledo, in hope the change of air might have been serviceable to him; but in this he was deceived, for, soon after his arrival, he departed this life on the 25th of April, in the year 1295. He left by his queen, the infants Don Ferdinand (Don Alonso died before him), Don Pedro, and Don Philip; and two infantas, Donna Elizabeth and Donna Beatrix^g.

Don Ferdinand the Fourth proclaimed king of Castile, and acknowledged by the states at ten years old.

Don Ferdinand the Fourth succeeded his father, in the tenth year of his age. As soon as Don Sancho's funeral was over, he received the homage of the nobility, and was inaugurated in the cathedral church of Toledo. In the compass of this year, there arose as great troubles as ever perplexed a court, the beginning, progress, and issue of which, within this period, we will state as briefly as possible. The infant Don Juan claimed the whole succession, under pretence that the king's marriage was illegal, and that he was the only right heir of Don Alonso the Wise, according to the system maintained by his deceased

^c Brandaon. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. Ferreras Historia de España, par. vi. sect. xiii.

^f Chronica General de España. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo.

^g Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne,

Turquet.

brother, in virtue of which he had enjoyed the kingdom. As strange a title as this was, it found some abettors; the Moors promised him their assistance, for their own interest, and upon the same motive the king of Portugal became his ally^b. However, upon the queen's offering him the restitution of his honours and revenues, Don Juan came to court, and did homage to his nephew: Don Denis, king of Portugal, took up arms, to recover three towns which Don Alonso gave his mother; Donna Beatrix, the queen dowager, gave him those towns, and so there was an end of that quarrel. Don Diego Lopez de Haro assembled forces, in order to recover the country of Biscay; the queen sent for Don Juan and Don Gonçales de Lara, to whom the king in his last moments had particularly recommended her and his son, and having furnished them with a large sum of money, upon the strongest assurances of duty and fidelity, dispatched them to their own estates, in order to raise forces against Don Diego. They did accordingly raise the troops; but as soon as they were raised, they joined the rebels, against whom they were to have acted, and then sent to court a long list of demands for themselves and for Don Diego Lopez Haro. These being granted, they came to Valladolid, and did homage in the assembly of the states^c. The infant Don Henry, more modest than the rest, formed no pretensions against the king, but insisted upon having the government of the kingdom, with the title of regent, saving to the queen dowager the care of the king's person, and of his education, to which demand she was constrained to assent; lastly, the king of Granada entered the frontiers of Andalusia, with a very numerous army, and wasted the country with fire and sword. Don Rodrigo Ponce, grand-master of Calatrava, with the forces of the military orders, gave him battle, and not without great loss, compelled him to retire. A few days after, Don Rodrigo himself died of his wounds, and was succeeded in his command on the frontier by Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, who so gallantly defended Tarefa^d.

The prospect, from being in some measure serene, grew on a sudden as gloomy as before, and clouds began to gather on every side. James, king of Arragon, sent to the

Don Alonso de la Cerda assumes the same title, and makes an alliance with the king of Arragon.

^b Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chronica General de Hispana. Brandaon. Chronica de los Moros de Hisp. ^c Chronica General de Hispana. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. Recopilada por Miguel de Herrera. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. ^d Chron. de los Moros de Hispana.

queen dowager, and desired she would take back the infant Donna Elizabeth, his mind being altered with respect to the marriage; upon which, anxious for the safety of that princess, she prevailed upon the regent to go and receive her on the frontiers. It was not long after this incident, that the whole scene of foreign and domestic treachery disclosed itself. Don Alonso de la Cerda returned out of France into Arragon, where, having confirmed the cession he made of the kingdom of Murcia to that monarch, he furnished him with an army to march into Castile ^l. The probability of his recovering that kingdom was indeed very great; the king of Arragon embarked the whole forces of his realm in his quarrel; the kings of France, Portugal, and Granada, were his allies; and, besides these foreign confederates, he had very good friends in the country to which he laid claim, such as the first queen dowager Donna Yoland, his grandmother, the infant Don Juan, whom he had purchased with the promise of the kingdoms of Leon and Galicia, and Don Juan de Lara, who had formerly betrayed, and was now just reconciled to the queen and the regent ^m. As soon as they were ready to act, the infant Don Juan, with the lords of his party, sent to give the king and his mother notice, that they renounced their fidelity, and so went to join his competitor.

The confederates invade Castile, with numerous armies, but without effect.

The first step was to put the infant Don Juan in possession of the dominions promised him. He was accordingly proclaimed king at Leon ⁿ. The army of the allies, as it was called, then marched to Sahagun, where Don Alonso was proclaimed king of Castile ^o; the queen Donna Maria, in the absence of the regent, commanded Don Diego Ramirez, and Don Garcia Fernandez de Soto Major, to throw themselves with a body of troops into the town of Majorga, which lies at the distance of five leagues from Leon. Don Alonso de la Cerda was for marching directly to Burgos, but the infant Don Juan advised him not to leave Majorga behind him, upon which they laid siege to it. This advice was prudent, but it had a bad effect. The town was not well fortified, and therefore they attempted it by assault; failing in that, they were obliged to attack it in form. In the mean time the regent Don

^l Zurita Annal Arragon. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chronica General de Hispana.

^m Zurita Annal. Arragon. P. Daniel. Brandaon. Chron del Rey Don Fernando IV. Reconquida por Miguel de Herrera. Chronica de los Moros de Hispana.

ⁿ Chronica General de Hispan. Ferreras. ^o Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

Henry went to put himself at the head of the troops in Andalusia, in order to cover that country from the king of Granada, who entered it with a powerful army, defeated, and would have taken him prisoner, if he had not been relieved by Don Alonso Perez. Upon this event, the regent made a peace with the Moors, but on terms so bad, that the queen refused to ratify them. Donna Yolanda made an attempt upon Valladolid, which served only to shew her inclinations and her weakness; for the inhabitants shut their gates against her, and she was constrained to withdraw.

At length an epidemic disease, produced by the great heats, broke out in the army of the allies, and forced them to raise the siege of Majorga; the Arragoneses retired into their own country, with the dead body of the infant Don Pedro, who had commanded them, and Don Alonso de la Cerda went with them. As for the infant Don Juan and Don Juan de Lara, they retired to Simancas, where they joined the king of Portugal, who had taken some places in that neighbourhood. There a proposition was made to cut matters short, by besieging the king and his mother in Valladolid. The project was plausible and practicable; but Don Juan de Lara suddenly declared that neither he nor any that belonged to him should act immediately against the persons of the king and queen. On the side of Murcia, the king of Arragon acted in person, and on his own behalf, which might perhaps be the reason that things took a different turn there; so that he reduced Alicante, and several of the most considerable places in that kingdom. The king of Granada, extremely irritated at the queen's rejecting the peace he had concluded with the infant Don Henry, came with a numerous army in the autumn before Tarefa, which, however, he was not able to reduce, neither could his good friend the infant Don Henry prevail upon the states, though he laboured it with great industry, to send their orders to Don Alonso Perez to surrender that place. The very proposal hurt him with the Castilians, though he pretended to qualify the demand, by his desire to abate their heavy taxes; and his desiring the queen to give him the revenues of two considerable towns, soon after entirely destroyed his credit, and put it out of his power to do the mischief that he intended.

Tarefa defended by Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, till the Moors raise the siege.

All the true patriots who had the interest of their country at heart, studied how to restore the public tranquillity, and to deliver the state and themselves out of this distress. Don Juan Fernandez de Limia, who commanded on the frontier

Don Ferdinand, king of Castile, makes a treaty with Don Denis king of Portugal.

A.D. 1297.

frontier towards Portugal, having framed in his mind a project which he thought might prove beneficial to both kingdoms, desired an interview with Don Juan d'Albuquerque, who was the king of Portugal's favourite, to whom, when he had communicated his scheme, he promised to give it all the countenance that was in his power, which promise he performed with all the punctuality worthy of a man of his rank. The issue of this business was, that in an interview between the royal families at Alcaniz, a peace was concluded between the two crowns, upon condition that Don Ferdinand of Castile should marry the infanta Donna Constantia of Portugal, as soon as a dispensation could be obtained from Rome; that the prince of Portugal, Don Alonso, should espouse the infanta Donna Beatrix of Castile; and that, for certain reasons expressed in the treaty, several good towns, and a considerable district of country, should be yielded to the king of Portugal, who promised to assist Don Ferdinand with all his forces. On the ratification of the treaty the two infantas were exchanged, and the queen dowager, Donna Maria, was in hopes that, by the assistance of the Portuguese, the war might have been carried on with greater vigour; but in this particular she flattered herself too much, for those succours amounted to no more than three hundred horse, under Don Juan d'Albuquerque, and they could not do much; indeed history does not inform us that they did any thing^p. The king of Granada was in the field some months, but we hear of no place that he took, except Alcaudeta, in the mountains, which was of no great consequence.

This measure fails of producing those great advantages expected from it.

The queen dowager, Donna Maria, found means in the spring to obtain a considerable supply from the states at Burgos; and having a pretty good army in the field, directed them to lay siege to Ampudia, in which Don Juan de Lara was with a small garrison. The queen heard with surprize, that though the place had been invested some days, the siege was not far advanced; upon which she went thither in person, suspecting, as the case really proved, that the fault was not in her forces, but in their generals. Upon her arrival in the camp, Don Juan quit- ted the place in the night, which surrendered the next day^q. Don Denis of Portugal, in pursuance of the late

^p Brandaon. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. Recopilada por Miguel de Herrera. ^q Chronica de los Moros de Hispana. Chronica General de Hispana. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

treaty, and at the request of the states, came with a considerable army to her assistance; yet he refused to act against the infant Don Juan; and entering into the intrigues of the infant Don Henry, proposed to the states, that the kingdom of Galicia should be left to the infant Don Juan; but the states apprised of the true ground of this proposal, namely, that the infant Don Henry might be always necessary, and Castile a less formidable neighbour to Portugal, they rejected it; upon which the king sent assistance to Don Juan^r. The king of Granada had a superior army in the field, with which he was very near taking Jaen, the suburbs of which he burnt; and having amassed a large booty, and reduced the town of Quesada, he retired.

The prudence of the queen had removed many difficulties, and had hitherto kept the crown on the head of Don Ferdinand her son; but so many new enemies arose, and her old adversaries continued so implacable, that it seemed scarce possible for her to proceed in her usual way. She was, however, indefatigable; and, with the greatest probability of mind, was so affable in her behaviour, and had such a dexterity in framing and in executing expedients, as rendered her superior to all the trials she met with. Some of her enemies insinuated that, her marriage being invalid, her children by the king were illegitimate. She took no notice of this insinuation at home, but directed the archbishop of Toledo, who was at Rome, to represent the matter to the pope in a proper light; and he exerted himself so effectually, that he procured a bull to confirm her marriage, and a cardinal's hat for himself. She found a very mercenary spirit amongst many of the nobility who had hitherto adhered to her, but were continually wanting rewards for their loyalty: these she gratified as well as she was able, and returned them abundance of good words for their bad behaviour. But the infant Don Henry exceeded them all in quality of regent; he was covetous and corrupt; he was, besides, very perfidious and very susceptible of offence. The queen behaved to him with great respect in her own person, and engaged her son to treat him in the same manner; but she took care that the people should know his true character; and this expedient made him less dangerous, though

*Admirable
conduct of
the queen
Donna
Maria, by
which the
kingdom is
preserved.*

^r Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. Recopilada por Miguel de Herrera,

A.D. 1299

not less deceitful. She found money difficult to be got, and yet, by managing it frugally, and laying the accounts punctually before the states, she obtained whatever she thought proper to ask. But what gave her more trouble than any other circumstance, indeed than all the rest, was the intelligence that the malecontents had in almost all the great towns in the king's dominions. To balance this, she visited many of them with the king in person, and to those she suspected most, she sent her children, a measure which fully answered her intention; for the people, charmed with the confidence that the queen reposed in them, did, out of pride, what they ought to have done out of duty.

*Strange
behaviour
of the in-
fant Don
Henry, in
public and
private
life.*

A general assembly of the states being held at Valladolid, the accounts given by the queen were so clear, and her necessities so pressing and so apparent, that they granted her thrice the usual sum at once, a great part of which the infant Don Henry laid his hands upon, under pretence of going to take the command of the army against the Moors. The scheme of his campaign was to purchase a peace, by giving up Tarefa, that he might put most of this money in his pocket; but the queen apprized the officers of the army he was to command of his sinister designs, which they took care to defeat*. Don Juan de Lara, after making a journey to very little purpose into France, returned into Navarre, and from thence made an expedition into Castile, in which his troops were routed by Don Juan Alonso de Haro, and himself taken prisoner; an incident which happened well for the queen, and better for him†. Her army was then before Palencuela, into which he had thrown a garrison; but those who commanded the queen's army were so much his friends, that in all probability it would not have been taken, if the queen had not sent for her prisoner into the camp, and prevailed upon him to give his orders for opening the gates. The infant Don Henry having thrust himself into this negociation, was so taken with the beauty of Don Juan's daughter, whose grandfather he might have been, that he would needs marry her; which ceremony the queen graced with her presence, Don Juan being first set at liberty, who became once more the king's good subject, and rendered all his places into the queen's hands. Towards the close of this year the old queen-dowager,

A.D. 1300.

* Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chron. Var. Antiqu.
† Chronica General de Hispana.

Donna Yoland, died in her return from Rome, in the kingdom of Navarre ^u (F).

The king of Portugal, being very desirous to have the double marriage actually accomplished, desired an interview with the queen Donna Maria, to which she readily consented, and there all the measures necessary were concerted. Upon this she summoned an assembly of the states at Valladolid, where every thing passed with such regularity, and such immense sums were granted for the support of the young king, that the infant Don Juan, who hitherto had styled himself king of Leon and Galicia, and was actually in possession of some part of both countries, thought it most for his interest to renounce those titles, to which indeed he had no just pretensions, and to make the best terms for himself he could. He accordingly came to the assembly of the states, did homage to the king, and swore to the established succession ^w. After all this prudence and submission he, in conjunction with the infant Don Henry, went to confer with the king of Arragon, with whom they made a secret and scandalous agreement, that, in consideration of that king's supporting them in their respective schemes, they would procure him the cession of the kingdom of Murcia ^x. In the mean time the bishop of Burgos, whom the queen had sent to Rome, procured the bulls and dispensations for which he was sent, which, upon his return, were publicly read in the

The king of Arragon, in consequence of his intrigues with the infants, invades Castile.

^u Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. Recopilada por Miguel de Herrera. ^w Idem ibid. ^x Zurit. Annal Arragon. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

(F) We have a very strong contrast in the characters of these two queen dowagers of Spain, than whom there could scarce be any two women more unlike; for Donna Violante had a great hand in exciting all the troubles that disturbed her husband's, her son's, and her grandson's reigns. A very judicious and well esteemed historian has branded her for her gallantries, which, without doubt, he would not have done

if they had not been very notorious (1). She had a particular kindness for the infant Don Juan; though, of all her children, he was undoubtedly the most unworthy; and there is great probability, that it was for his sake, rather than for that of her grand-children, that she attempted to increase the disturbances in Castile, by soliciting the people to revolt from the service of the king and his mother (2).

(1) Zurita. Annal Arragon. Fernando IV.

(2) Chronica del Rey Don

A.D 1301. cathedral church of Burgos¹. The king of Arragon, however, in pursuance of the intrigues between him and the two infants, invaded Castile; and though the people and the army were perfectly disposed to do what was fit for them to have done for the service of the king and kingdom, yet the private views of the nobility spoiled all. While the army of Arragon besieged Lorca, that of Castile remained altogether inactive, notwithstanding all the pains the queen took to wake them to a sense of their duty².

Finds himself obliged to make proposals of peace, which are rejected by the queen.

After a siege of many months the governor of Lorca entered into an agreement, that in case the place was not relieved in fifty days, he would deliver it to the king of Arragon. The queen pressed the infants to march with the army to its relief; a request which they at first declined, and at last refused; upon this she put herself at the head of the army, and the infants were obliged to follow her, though very unwillingly. They had, however, scarce taken the field, before they had intelligence that Lorca, though the time was not expired, was, through treachery, surrendered. This perfidious action was much exceeded by the infants Don Juan and Don Henry, who suffered the king of Arragon to retire when they had him in their power. The queen knew, but could not prevent this act of infidelity. Providence soon after enabled her to return the injury in the same way; for, by countenancing the malecontents in Arragon, she brought that monarch, of his own accord, to offer to evacuate Murcia, if she would grant him the single town and fortress of Alicant, a demand which she refused, from a firm persuasion that it would be very soon in her power to recover, for her son, all that had been lost during a minority full of confusion. Don Alonso de la Cerda perceiving how desperate his affairs were grown, left Arragon, in order to solicit assistance in France, where he found it utterly out of the king's power to support him, how much soever it might be his intention. The affairs of the church being in great disorder, Don Gonçales Diaz Palomec, archbishop of Toledo, held a council of his suffragans at Penafiel, in which many regulations were made, and amongst the rest, it was intimated to the infant Don Henry, that if he did not re-

¹ Rainauld. *Chronica General de Hispana*. ² *Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. Recopilada por Miguel de Herrera* Zurit. *Annal. Arragon.*

store the places he had taken from the church, they would proceed to excommunication ^a.

As the infant Don Juan loved to fish in troubled waters, as he found a very ready associate in Don Juan de Lara, and no great difficulty in drawing the infant Don Henry into his projects, they, by the help of Don Gonçales Gomez de Caldelas, who was of the king's bed-chamber, insinuated to the young sovereign, that he was too much a man to live under the restrictions of a nursery; and that, if he meant to make his subjects consider him, or desired to appear like a king, he ought to leave his mother. The young king listened to these plausible offers, eloped while the queen was gone to Victoria, to prevent, by a conference with the French viceroy of Navarre, a war on that side, and went to the lords ^b. It was not long before the infant Don Henry found that he had mistaken his man; and that he had lost more by this revolution than the queen. To her, therefore, he returned, and exclaimed bitterly against those who had seduced their sovereign, offering to have recourse to arms on his own and her majesty's behalf. The queen, on the other hand, behaved in her own person, and, at last, taught him to behave with moderation. The favourites engaged the king to celebrate his marriage with Donna Constantia, which the queen would not permit, till the king of Portugal restored those places he had taken from the kingdom of Leon, when the solemnity was performed with great magnificence ^c. Thus far things went well; but when an assembly of the states came to be held at Valladolid, matters wore another aspect. The people of the town were for shutting their gates, if the queen had not prevented it; and the deputies refused to assist without her consent.

The infant Don Juan and his associates prevail on the young king to leave his mother.

A.D. 1303.

After all this moderation on her side, the favourites attacked her conduct in that assembly; insisted upon the restitution of the late king's jewels, which she had given to the infanta Donna Elizabeth, and upon having a strict account of what had been expended in the maintenance of her household; she complied with both demands, and, when all things were at a stand, procured, by her influence, a free gift of two millions of marvadies, and four subsidies ^d. Upon the dissolution of that assembly, and after

Are obliged to court her favour to gain their demands in the assembly of the states.

^a Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chron. General de Hispana. ^b Chron. del Rey Fernando IV. Recopilada por Miguel de Herrera. ^c Brandaon Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chronica General de Hispana. ^d Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. Recopilada por Miguel de Herrera.

holding the states of Castile at Burgos, where, by the like means, the like grants were obtained, the king went to Palencia, where Don Alonso, the son of the infant Don Juan, married Donna Teresa, the sister of Don Juan de Lara^e. After this marriage he entered into a kind of league or confederacy with these great lords, which so exasperated Don Henry, that he insisted upon the queen's entering into a like confederacy with him and Don Lopez de Haro, with which measure, for her own sake, she was obliged to comply; upon which the most considerable of the nobility resorted to her at Valladolid, from all quarters, to offer her their services. This popularity alarmed the favourites to such a degree, that they prevailed upon the king to go thither to try to pacify his mother. The queen received him with great kindness; but spoke to him with the utmost freedom; shewed him how much she had done for him, and how much he had done against himself; and concluded with telling him, that he would do well to guard against the result of his own confederacy; but that he had nothing to fear, with respect to his person or authority, from that of which his follies had compelled her to become the head.

*Death of
the infant
Don Henry,
and gener-
ous beha-
viour of
the queen-
dowager.*

His favourites, being still in fear, pressed Don Ferdinand to confer with his father-in-law the king of Portugal, at Badajos, under pretence that he would give him a sum of money, by way of portion with the queen; which claim, at the conference, appeared to have no foundation; but however, the king being acquainted with his son-in-law's expectation, gave him a million of marvadies, to prevent any coldness arising between him and his queen. This interview so alarmed the infant Don Henry and Don Diego de Haro, that they made a treaty with the king of Arragon, into which they would have drawn the queen-mother; but she not only rejected the proposal, but gave notice of it to her son^f. Immediately after this transaction the infant Don Henry died without heirs, and the king instantly seized on all his estates; and so little care was taken of his body, that it would have been utterly neglected, had not the queen directed a funeral suitable to his rank as regent of the kingdom, at which she assisted in person, saying, upon this occasion, we ought to remember his birth, and forget his faults^g. By her endeavours

^e Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chron. General de Hispana.

^f Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chronica General de Hispana. ^g Ferreras Hist. de Hispana, par. vii. sect. xiv.

Don Diego de Haro was detached from that league into which he had entered; and if the king would have followed her advice in all things, his affairs might have been restored; but he resembled his grandfather in the unsteadiness of his temper, and, by the advice of his favourites, concluded an alliance with the new king of Granada, who took the advantage of these troubles, and, like a wise prince, neglected nothing that might contribute to the prosperity of his subjects, and the establishment of his own affairs^b. A.D. 1304.

The king of Arragon, perceiving how prejudicial this scene of disturbance and confusion was to the interest of the Christians in Spain, proposed to the king of Castile that all differences between them should be terminated by a solid and equitable peace, to which accommodation Don Ferdinand shewed himself very inclinable. Before any effectual measures could be taken on this head, Don Diego de Haro, after a very free expostulation with the king, by which, notwithstanding the interposition of the queen his mother, he could obtain nothing, broke out into an open insurrection, in conjunction with Don Roderic de Castro, a nobleman of great power in Galicia; but the latter being killed in one of his first exploits, the peace of the kingdom was, for the present, restored. The king then sent the infant Don John to regulate matters with the king of Arragon, and by them it was agreed, that all differences should be referred to an arbitrator on behalf of each of the kings, and an umpire, who was to moderate things between the arbitrators. Upon this plan the infant Don John was to act for the king of Castile, the bishop of Saragossa for the king of Arragon, and the king of Portugal was to be the umpire; of all which designs Don Ferdinand gave notice to the queen his mother, desiring her consent, which she declined, but promised him not to oppose the transaction. In consequence of this agreement, the king of Portugal came into Castile, and was received every where with all possible magnificence: he then repaired to the place of conference, which was Campillo, where things were quickly settled at the expence, as the queen dowager foresaw, of the king her son; for it was agreed, that the river Segura should be the common boundary between the dominions of the two monarchs in the kingdom of Murcia; so that not only the town and fortress of Alicant, but also several other places,

*Treaties
with the
king of
Arragon
and the in-
fants de la
Cerde.*

^b Chronica de los Moros de Hispana.

and all the country on the north of that river, was yielded to the crown of Arragon¹. This great affair being decided, they proceeded to another, which was still of high importance; for Don Ferdinand consented to refer the pretensions of the infants de la Cerda to the kings of Arragon and Portugal, who determined that Don Alonso de la Cerda should have Albade Tormes, Bejar, Valdecarneja, Mançanares, Monçon, Gaton, Gibraeleon, Aljaba, and other places, the revenue of which was esteemed at four hundred thousand marvadies; that Don Ferdinand de la Cerda, his younger brother, should have the revenue of an infant of Spain; and, on the other hand, the few places that Don Alonso still held were to be evacuated, and both brothers were to render homage to the king, previous to their reaping any benefit by this decision. These great points being discussed, all the three royal families met several times, feasted each other, and parted with all imaginable testimonies of the most perfect friendship.

A.D. 1305.

Don Ferdinand finds himself obliged to court Don Diego Lopez de Haro.

The king, Don Ferdinand, began now to have a clearer notion of things, and to be able to form a better judgment of men; but he still had his favourites, though the infant Don John and Don Juan de Lara were no longer such: he was also very desirous of power, though hitherto he had enjoyed but a very limited authority. In order to compass these points, he found it absolutely necessary to bring back Don Diego de Haro to his duty, for he began to perceive the truth of what his mother had often told him, that he was a person of greater honour, and more to be depended upon, than any of the rest. The point in difference was between him and Don Juan, who claimed to be the heir of Biscay in right of his wife, the daughter of Don Lopez de Haro, Don Diego's elder brother. On the other side, Don Diego insisted upon his right as the heir male, and also in virtue of an agreement made with the infant Don Juan and his wife, by which an equivalent was stipulated, and to the strict performance of which they had sworn. For the decision of this dispute, an assembly of the states was called, but they rose without determining any thing, Don Diego being in possession of Biscay, and fully determined to keep it. Don Juan de Lara also, being offended with the infant Don Juan, for not taking care of his interest in the treaty with the king

¹ Zurit. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. Recopilada por Miguel de Herrera. Brandaon.

of Arragon, entered into a close alliance with Don Diego de Haro, which offended the king extremely, as through certain stories that had been told him, which, however, were false, he had conceived an extreme dislike to Don Juan, whom he seems to have fixed upon already for an example to the rest of the nobility, that, by his punishment, they might be taught obedience.

The king, Don Ferdinand, laboured first to detach Don Diego de Haro from that close alliance he had contracted with Don Juan de Lara. With this view, he proposed making his son, Don Lopez de Haro, master of the household; which post his father did not hinder him from accepting, but refused entering into any engagements either to procure or preserve it. On the contrary, he brought Don Juan de Lara, after this transaction, to court, and laboured all in his power to reconcile him to his master, an aim which was also accomplished, in appearance. But, notwithstanding this agreement, the king, who could no longer bridle his temper, marched with a body of his own troops, and with another, commanded by the infant Don Juan, though his mother laboured all she could to prevent it, against Don Juan de Lara, at Aranda. He was very hard pressed; but found means to escape and, which must have astonished the monarch of Castile, passed through the midst of his camp with an escort of horse, in order to join Don Diego and Don Lopez de Haro, who were come, with a great body of forces, to his assistance. The king marched against them with his army, being extremely provoked at a message from the two lords, importing, that, as he made war upon them, he ought to release their allegiance. The king's army beginning to crumble away, and those that remained acting rather according to their own notions than in obedience to orders, the infant Don Juan, by the king's command, began to reprove some of the gentlemen who served therein; upon which they told him, that it was not the king's quarrel, but his; and that since he was become weary of their company, they were very willing to leave him. As soon as the king observed this spirit of defection, he had recourse again to negotiation, and, by the interposition of the queen his mother, all things were at last adjusted upon these terms, that Don Diego de Haro should hold Biscay during his life, and that, upon his demise, that country, a very few places excepted, should belong to the infant Don Juan and his wife, or to their heirs^k.

A.D. 107.

Attempts to
reduce Don
Juan de
Lara by
force of
arms, in
which he
fails.

A.D. 1307.

^k Chron. Var. Antiq.

*Detaches
from him
Don Diego
de Haro,
and makes
another at-
tempt to no
purpose.*

This treaty, which had been made with a great deal of secrecy, did not become public till the assembly of the states, held in the month of April, at Valladolid, was called upon to ratify and confirm it. It had such an effect on the temper of Don Juan de Lara, who considered it as a scheme laid for his destruction, that he quitted the place abruptly, after giving some public testimonies of discontent¹. The queen-mother was, for the first time, misled, and gave her son advice which he and she both had reason to repent; and this was, to carry things to extremity against Don Juan, as the most effectual means to restore some lustre to the royal authority. Don Juan having early intelligence of this design, threw himself into the fortress of Torde Humos, with a small body of good troops: the king quickly invested him, and, though he made a very gallant defence, brought him so low, that he was obliged to demand a conference with the infant Don Juan. At this meeting he put the infant in mind of their former friendship; observed, that though himself might be the first, it was not probable he should be the last victim; and that was very unnatural for wise men to be the authors of their own destruction. This remonstrance had its effect: the infant Don Juan proposed very high terms to the king, in the name of Don Juan de Lara, and, upon his rejecting them, as he expected, insinuated to all the nobility, that the king was bent upon taking Don Juan's life, who, though a victim to justice in his eyes, ought to appear a martyr in their's; upon which they unanimously shewed an inclination to change sides, Don Diego de Haro only excepted. The king, seeing things in this situation, desired him to interpose with Don Juan, and to advise him to come and ask his pardon, an advice which he readily embraced; and the king having received him into favour, bent all his thoughts to the humbling the infant Don Juan, who had been the principal author of all the disturbances during his reign^m. About this time the Knights Templars, who were prosecuted throughout all Europe, surrendered all their possessions in Spain to the infant Don Philip, till the suit against them should be determined; and this circumstance involved him in a quarrel with the infant Don Juan, who pretended that some of his vassals had been oppressed and injured by the infant Don Philip, for the redress of which he had recourse to arms.

A D. 1308.

¹ Chronica General de Hispan. Rod. Santi Hist. Hispan. par. iv. ^m Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. Recopilada por Miguel de Herrera.

The king, by the advice of his mother, neglected nothing that might engage that prince to return to his duty, which, however, was no very easy task; and, after a long negotiation, Don Juan prevailed, or, to speak with propriety, forced upon the king a change of measures and of ministers, whom he removed and replaced at his pleasureⁿ. These points being gained, the kings of Castile and Arragon had an interview at the monastery of Huerta, where it was agreed, that prince James of Arragon should marry the infanta Leonora of Castile; that both monarchs should make war on the Moors; and that they should send ambassadors to Rome, to procure such bulls from the pope as might, in some measure, supply the necessary expence^o. In pursuance of these resolutions, the king of Castile took the field with a very numerous army, after he had dispatched Don Juan de Lara to Rome as his ambassador. He had also a good fleet at sea; and this consideration induced him to change the first plan of operation, and to besiege Algeriza, which was become exceeding strong, and was considered as one of the most important places that belonged to the king of Granada. While this siege was carried on, the king's army made various expeditions by detachments from before the place; in one of which they became masters of Gibraltar, then of no great consequence, and in another they lost Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, who had done so many and so great services to the crown of Spain^p. They might also have taken Algeriza, if the infant Don Juan had not abruptly quitted the siege, a retreat which induced many of the nobility to follow his example. Upon this the king of Granada offered Don Ferdinand a sum of money, together with Quesada and Bedmar, which had been recovered by the Moors, if he would conclude a separate peace, with which proposal, finding himself unable to carry on the war, he complied.

Engages in a war with the Moors, but without any remarkable success.

A.D. 1309.

The king, in his return from this campaign, meditated a strange design, which he thought requisite to his own safety, and this was removing out of the world the infant Don Juan, from whom he had received so much vexation. He began with attaching Don Juan de Lara, who was returned from his embassy, to his service, by bestowing upon him the important post of master of his household; though, for this purpose, he was obliged to remove the infant Don Pedro his brother^q. The marriage of his sis-

Forms a design to get Don Juan assassinated, which proves abortive.

ⁿ Chron. Var. Antiq. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chron. General de Hispan.

^o Zurit. Anal. Arragon. Rod.

^p Chron. de los Moros de Hisp.

^q Rod. Santii. Hist. Hispan.

ter the infanta Donna Elizabeth with John, duke of Bretagne, which was to be celebrated at Burgos, seemed to offer the king a fair opportunity of executing a design that nothing could justify. The queen-mother invited the infant Don Juan to that solemnity, who was so cautious as to demand a safe-conduct, which the queen readily granted: the king, notwithstanding this, directed those who had his orders to kill the infant, and to post themselves in such a manner, as to surprise him in his return from visiting the queen-mother. The preparations for this black affair could not be so secretly managed, but that they came to the ear of this princess, who thought herself bound in honour to give notice of his danger to the infant Don Juan, who fled privately out of the city, and was followed by many of the nobility, who did not know what designs might be formed against them[†]. This attempt upon the infant Don Juan rendered him more powerful, and not at all less troublesome than before; so that the king was obliged to have recourse to the pope, to whom he insinuated, that some of his seditious subjects hindered him from making war upon the infidels, and therefore desired, that authority might be given to some ecclesiastics, to restrain them from troubling his government, by threatening them with the censures of the church; which favour he obtained. On the 3d of August, the queen, Donna Constantia, was delivered of her son the infant Don Alonso; but the joy occasioned thereby was quickly clouded by the king's falling dangerously sick at Palencia, from which, however, he recovered, contrary to the opinion of his physicians[‡]. The heavy accusations brought against the knights Templars being thoroughly examined, in a council held at Salamanca for that purpose, the order was acquitted, to the great honour of that assembly, which equally disregarded private views and popular clamour[§]. A revolution also happened in Granada, where the blind king Mohammed Aben Alhamar, was deposed, and thrust into prison, and his brother Mohammed Aben Nazar placed upon the throne^{||}.

Fresh disturbances break out, to the great detriment of the king and kingdom.

The kings of Castile and Arragon, having an interview at Calatayud, agreed upon another marriage between the infant Don Pedro, the king's brother, and Donna Maria, daughter to the king of Arragon. The queen-mother, Donna Maria, with the assistance of several prelates,

[†] Chron. del Rey Don Fernando IV. ubi supra. [‡] Chron. Gen. de Hispán. [§] Ferreras Historica de Hispán. par. vii. sect. xv.

^{||} Chron. de los Moros de Hispán.

brought

brought about a reconciliation between the king and the infant Don Juan and his party, which had like to have proved fatal to this monarch; for having invited them to a supper, and exceeding a little in his usual course of diet, he was seized with a distemper which, not without imminent danger, he escaped^w. But, notwithstanding this agreement, new disputes quickly arose, and Don Juan de Lara, doubting of his safety, retired into Portugal. The A.D. 1311.
prudence of the queen-mother prevented this flame from breaking out; but, however, the measures concerted with the king of Arragon for renewing the war against the Moors, were hindered by these jealousies from being put in execution^x. The king of Castile reclaimed from the king of Portugal the places given up, in his minority, by the infant Don Henry; and the king his father-in-law, to prevent disputes, offered to leave all the matters in difference to the king of Arragon, a proposal which was accepted; but it seems the great point of Don Ferdinand was to get a little money; to procure which, he mortgaged to the crown of Portugal, Badojos, and some other places.

The factions and disturbances which had hitherto limited the king's power and inclinations, being in some measure appeased, he laid before the states, at Valladolid, the expediency of renewing the war with the Moors, and proposed to them a plan for that purpose; with which they were so well pleased, as to take upon themselves the whole expence of the campaign. The infant Don Pedro was declared general and commander in chief, and, in that quality, assembled the forces on the frontiers of Andalusia, and in the beginning of the month of June laid siege to Alcaudeta in the mountains. The king, Don Ferdinand, when the siege was pretty far advanced, set out for the army, and fixed his quarters at Martos, a place at a small distance from the camp: here he found Don Pedro and Don Juan de Carvajal prisoners, who were charged with killing Don Juan Alonso de Benavides, as he came out of the royal apartments one evening at Palencia. The king was no sooner informed of this assassination than he ordered them to be thrown over the rock, without any form of trial. The two brothers protested their innocence, of which they affirmed they could give the clearest proofs, but to no purpose. When they came to die, they summoned the king to answer for this act of injustice, at the

*Death of
Don Ferdi-
nand IV. of
Castile, as
some think,
by Divine
judgment.*

^w Chron. del Rey Don Fernando IV. Recopilada por Miguel de Herrera. ^x Chron. Gen de Hispan. Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

tribunal of Almighty God, in thirty days^y. The king went to the camp, where he found the siege so far advanced, that there could be no doubt of his becoming master of it very soon: however, finding himself indisposed, he thought proper to retire to Jaen, where he signed the capitulation on the 5th of September, and also a peace with the king of Granada, on certain conditions, with which he seemed very much pleased, and he was thought to be out of danger^z: but having taken some refreshment on the 17th, and falling afterwards asleep, his domestics, when they came to wake him, perceived that he was dead; and what Ferreras observes was thought very remarkable by the old historians, that this was the thirtieth day from the death of the two brothers. He farther observes, that we ought not from hence to pronounce rashly concerning either his guilt or their's (G). As his whole reign had been a series of confusions, so his death proved the cause of still greater mischiefs, as it made way for another minority, before those evils were in any degree removed that had been introduced during the last; and when there were many of those living who, from motives of ambition and private interest, had been the principal actors in the disorders of the two last reigns, and who, though farther advanced in years, were not at all better disposed towards each other, or towards the public.

A.D. 1312.

A schism in the assembly of the states, and two regents chosen.

The young king, Don Alonso, had scarce entered into the third year of his age, when the death of his father placed him upon the throne. The prudence of his grandmother recommended him to the care of the bishop of Avila, and the inhabitants of that town, who were distinguished even in Spain, for their unalterable affection to their sovereigns^a. That princess having declined the regency, the two principal pretenders to that high office were the infant Don Pedro and the infant Don Juan, each of whom came with an army into the neighbourhood of Palencia, where the states were assembled, in order to fix their choice; a measure which, notwithstanding the utmost pains

^y Chron. Var. Antiq. Chron. del Rey Don Fernando IV. Recopilada por Miguel de Herrera. ^z Ferreras Hist. de Hispan. par. vii. sect. xiv. ^a Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno, por Don Juan Nunez de Villafan. Ferreras Hist. de Hispan. par. vii. sect. xiv.

(G) From this circumstance the old Spanish chronicles distinguish this king by the name of Don Fernando el Emplazado, or *Don Ferdinand the Summoned*.

taken by some true patriots, was found impracticable; so that one party retiring to the convent of St. Francis, voted the tutelage and regency to the queen-dowager, Donna Maria, and her son the infant Don Pedro; while those who met at the convent of St. Paul, bestowed their suffrages on the queen-dowager, Donna Constantia, and the infant Don Juan ^b. Both parties had recourse to arms; and both endeavoured to get the person of the young king into their hands, in which, however, neither prevailed; but, towards the end of the year, the queen-dowager, Donna Constantia, dying suddenly, her death opened a prospect of accommodation; and the troubles that broke out among the Moors hindered them from reaping any advantage from those which at present distracted the Christians ^c.

A.D. 1313.

The queen, having nothing at heart but the public tranquillity, earnestly solicited the two infants to consent to some agreement for that purpose, which she at last brought to bear by her influence over Don Juan: it was stipulated between them, that the custody of the king's person, and the care of his education, should be left entirely to the queen, and that the regents should exercise that authority respectively in the places by the votes of which they were chosen ^d. In the spring of the succeeding year, this agreement was solemnly confirmed by an assembly of the states at Valladolid; and the people of Avila resigned the king's person to the care of the queen his grandmother, who carried him to Toro ^e. The infant Don Pedro embarked in the civil war of Granada, and behaved with great reputation ^f. In the month of September, there was another assembly of the states at Carrion, where they obliged both the regents to give security for so much of the public money as should come to their hands, and for exhibiting, as often as required, a distinct and just account ^g. The infant Don Juan saw, with envy and chagrin, the high reputation the infant Don Pedro had obtained, and therefore hindered his drawing any troops out of the kingdom of Leon, and the rest of the provinces under his jurisdiction; a circumstance which, however, did not prevent his making a campaign with as much, or rather more, honour than he had acquired by the last. These successes

A.D. 1314.

*The infants
Don Juan
and Don
Philip as-
sume the
administration.*

A.D. 1315.

^b Chron. Var. Antiq. Rod. Santii Hist. Hisp. par. iv. ^c Chron. Gen. de Hispan. ^d Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno, por Don Juan Nunez de Villafan. ^e Chron. Var. Antiq. ^f Chron. Gen. de Hispan. ^g Rod. Santii Hist. Hisp. par. iv. Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

A.D. 1316. were far from lessening the envy of the infant Don Juan, who began to take umbrage at the expence. Don Pedro thereupon applied himself to pope John XXII. who directed the archbishop of Toledo, and two other prelates, to publish the croisade, and to raise a large sum of money upon the clergy, for the support of the war. Ishmael, king of Granada, found himself so much pressed, that he demanded succours of the king of Fez, and, to facilitate the receiving them, put Algeriza and several other places into his hands, steps which gave the Christians much concern.

A.D. 1317. The infant Don Juan, who had hitherto troubled himself no farther about the war, than to impede it, no sooner perceived that, in virtue of the pope's bull, it produced money, than he demanded a share of it; and this naturally excited fresh disputes. The queen-regent, however, and the pope's nuncio, interposed with some effect. An assembly of the states being held at Valladolid, the two infants assisted therein, and, to the surprize of most of the nobility, gave unquestionable tokens of their being thoroughly reconciled: upon which it was determined, that the pope's bulls being general, the tax upon the clergy should be levied throughout the whole kingdom, and received by both regents, who, for the future, should equally concur in the military service, as well as in the direction of the civil government. This proposition being cheerfully accepted by the infant Don Juan, he began to raise forces throughout the whole extent of his government, which conduct, on the other hand, was highly agreeable to the infant Don Pedro, who found the Moors, in consequence of the supplies they had received from Barbary, much superior to any troops that it was in his power to bring into the field; a circumstance that might have had very dangerous consequences to the common cause of the Christians.

A.D. 1318

Christians defeated by the Moors, and both the infants die on the spot. In the spring of the succeeding year, the infant Don Pedro assembled his troops in the kingdom of Jaen, and made himself master of Píscar, in which, through some degree of negligence, the Moors had but a very small garrison; and as soon as he was informed that Don Juan, with the forces under his command, was arrived in Andalusia, he marched without delay to join them at Baena. They proceeded from thence into the kingdom of Granada; and, having taken Mora, plundered all the country in the neighbourhood of the capital, till the Moorish army, being completely assembled under the command of Ozmin, a very

very brave and experienced general, advanced towards them in order of battle, which the infants did not decline. The two armies appeared in sight of each other on the 27th of June. The infant Don Juan was on the right, with the forces of Leon and Galicia, the military orders, and the troops of the archbishops of Toledo and Seville; the infant Don Pedro on the left, with the veteran forces that had been accustomed for so many years to fight and conquer in these wars. The Moors, it is said, made their principal effort against Don Juan, upon a supposition that his troops were fresh raised: but we can scarce depend on what the Spanish authors say of this battle, which they acknowledge to have lost, but are unwilling to own that they were defeated. They also admit that both the infants died upon the spot, but assert that neither of them was killed. Don Juan, say they, finding his troops ready to give ground, sent to his colleague for a reinforcement, which the infant Don Pedro immediately ordered; but the troops refusing to obey, he rode from one corps to another, exhorted, menaced, intreated, till, through passion and fatigue, he fell dead from his horse; the news of which accident being carried to Don Juan, produced the like effect on him; and upon this the army retired in the best order they could, leaving, however, the body of Don Juan upon the field, which the Moors, on their request, permitted them to search out the next day, in order to its being interred^b.

This disaster, for such it certainly was, had most terrible consequences; for the enemy made themselves masters of Heusca and several other places, ravaged the country about Jaen, and took the town, but not the citadel of Martos, while those who ought to have been employed in the defence of their country were contending about the regencyⁱ. The number of these pretenders was greater than at the death of Don Ferdinand: of these the chief were the infant Don Philip, uncle to the king, Don Juan Emanuel, who had the command of the frontier of Murcia, son to the infant Don Emanuel, and the infanta Donna Constantia of Arragon, Don Juan, son to the infant Don Juan, and Don Ferdinand de la Cerda, who was just reconciled to the court; and each of these endeavoured to raise forces, in order to support his claim by dint of arms^k.

This calamity revives the disputes and intrigues which had been pacified.

^b Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. Ferreras Historia de Hispan. par. vii. sect. xiv. Mayerne, Turquet. ⁱ Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ^k Rod Santii Hist Hispan. par iv. Chron. Gen. de Hispan.

A.D. 1319. Another singular event happened soon after this transaction, which was the marriage and divorce, on the same day, of the prince of Arragon and the infanta Leonora; for as soon as the ceremony was over, the prince declared that what he had done was to oblige his father, and to comply with the terms of the treaty between the two crowns; that he took no exception whatever to the princess; but that, nevertheless, he was determined not to live with her; and soon after this abrupt parting with his wife, he publicly relinquished all right to the crown, which the states of the kingdom secured to his younger brother¹.

The queen makes use of various expedients with very little success.

The disturbances in Castile increased daily, and the calmness, moderation, and prudence of the queen, which had formerly done so much, was now less effectual; but, however, what little was done could be attributed to nothing else. She granted many favours to Donna Maria Diaz, the widow of the infant Don Juan, and to his son, who was surnamed the Deformed, which generosity induced them to ask for more; so that the queen was at length forced to refuse, and afford them that pretence which they wanted for being ungrateful. She raised Don Ferdinand de la Cerda to the post of master of the king's household; for which, at the time, he was exceedingly thankful, but deserted her soon after, though he still kept his employment^m. Don Juan Emanuel was so desirous of being regent, that he took the title before it could be given him; and his assuming it induced the infant Don Philip to do the like. These competitors divided the best part of the kingdom, even to the frontiers, where Cordova declared for Don Juan, and the city of Seville for the infantⁿ. Don Juan the Deformed had a great party in the states of Castile, assembled at Burgos, and was for obliging both parties to lay aside the title before a legal regent was elected, having great hopes that this expedient would make way for himself; but the queen, Donna Maria, acquainted this assembly, that it would be by far more safe to confirm those who had taken the title of regents, than to augment the confusion, by declaring a third; a proposal in which they acquiesced^o.

A.D. 1320.

A cardinal sent from Rome, to endeavour a new reconciliation.

But Don Juan the Deformed, in conjunction with Don Ferdinand de la Cerda, and others, entered into a solemn

¹ Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. ^m Chron. Var. Antiq. ⁿ Rod. Santij Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chronica General de Hispan. ^o Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

confederacy, and then sent the queen word, that, if she would not unite with them against her son the infant Don Philip, they would join unanimously with Don Juan Emanuel against her and the infant. The queen was so embarrassed, that she knew not which way to move; she had no great reliance upon Don Juan Emanuel, though he had treated her from the beginning with great civility and respect; and though the party of the infant Don Philip was strong, yet by no means strong enough to act against all the rest. At length, to gain time and better advice, she sent the confederates word, that they should have her final answer by the mouth of the cardinal legate, whom the pope had sent on purpose to assist her in quieting these disorders; with which declaration they were little satisfied. In the mean time, the infant Don Philip concluded a truce with the king of Granada, for that part of Andalusia which acknowledged his authority; a respite which left that monarch at liberty to besiege Lorca. The inhabitants, having no reason to hope for succours, defended themselves with that obstinacy, which despair only can inspire, and ruined the army of the Moors to such a degree, that the king was at length obliged to raise the siege, and retire into his own territories.

A.D. 1321.

The cardinal legate assured the confederates, on the part of the queen, that, since it was absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom, she would prevail upon the infant Don Philip to desist from his pretensions to the regency, and, at the same time, the cardinal offered to use his utmost endeavours with Don Juan Emanuel to do the same: but when he entered upon this negotiation, he found little probability of success. At length, however, he prevailed, that nobleman being rather wearied than persuaded into a compliance. This point being gained, the cardinal called a council at Valladolid, to regulate the discipline of the church, which, as we may easily imagine, had suffered exceedingly in these times of confusion; and the cardinal was of opinion, that the clergy could have no weight, while their lives did no credit to their doctrine. This council hindered the assembly of the states from being opened at Palencia so early as otherwise it might have been; and it was hardly opened, before the queen, Donna Maria, was seized by that distemper which carried her to her grave. She died, as she had lived, with firmness and tranquillity of mind; pious without affectation, and supported her dignity by the lustre of her virtues. In her last moments, she exhorted the nobility to be careful of

The queen, Donna Maria, dies, which greatly augments the disturbances in Castile.

A.D. 1322.

The infant Don Philip and Don Juan Emanuel act as regents, and against each other.

the person, and attentive to the education of their young monarch, and to have a just respect for his sister the infanta Donna Leonora. She breathed her last on the 1st of June, when the affairs of the kingdom were in the utmost confusion; and in this respect her demise was a favourable event; for it affected all parties to such a degree, that the cardinal legate prevailed upon them to consent to a cessation of hostilities for the remainder of the year ^p.

As soon as that term was expired, a civil war broke out in all quarters with so much the more fury, as it had been checked by this short restraint; Don Juan Emanuel shewed that his cruelty was equal to his ambition, by the murder of some persons of distinction in Castile, which rendered him universally hated, and gave great advantages to the infant Don Philip. To sustain his interest after such atrocious practices, he was constrained to join with Don Juan the Deformed, and Don Ferdinand de la Cerda; and this confederacy enabled him to bring an army into the field, sufficient to look the infant in the face, but they did not judge it proper to fight. The young king, Don Alonso, seeing nothing but discord, confusion, and bloodshed, among his subjects, and his own influence scarce extending farther than his court, wrote to the principal magistrates in all the great cities, to put them in mind that he should very soon be of age, and that they ought to reflect that they could then have no other master.

A.D. 1323.

Don Alonso begins to take upon himself the government, as soon as turned of fourteen.

These letters had some little effect, and but a little: however, he no sooner entered his fifteenth year, than he made choice of a person of integrity and probity to go to the city of Seville, in order to feel the pulse of the inhabitants. This man executed his commission so discreetly, that the citizens declared for the king, who lost no time in going thither. Upon his arrival, he issued his letters for convoking a general assembly of the states at Valladolid; to which both the regents resorted, and laid down their authority. This pacific disposition did not last long: Don Juan Emanuel quitted the court in discontent, and projected a marriage between his daughter and Don Juan the Deformed, that he might attach him effectually to his interests. Those who were about the young king's person saw plainly the consequences that would attend such an alliance, and insinuated to him, that the only way to prevent it was to take Donna Constantia for his own consort.

^p Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Rod. Santi Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Ferreras Hist. de Hispan. par. vii. sect. xiv.

Upon the first whisper of this alliance, Don Juan Emanuel returned to Valladolid, in the highest transport of loyalty and affection for the king's service ^a.

The king, Don Alonso, when he had once taken possession, was resolved not to pass his days as his father had done, with the title of sovereign, and in a state of subjection. He formed a small corps of troops, which were constantly about his person, picked men, and thoroughly devoted to his service. With these he pursued a crew of banditti to the castle of Valdenebra, strong by situation, though but indifferently fortified. The king summoned the place in form; but these desperate wretches refused to submit; upon which he caused it to be attacked, and, being carried by storm, put every one of the malefactors to that kind of death he deserved^r (H). He pursued the same conduct towards the same sort of people wherever they could be found; and this, in a few months, cleared all the great roads in Spain that had been, for many years, infested by these banditti, who retired to Don Juan the Deformed for protection ^s.

Acts with much severity, in order to recover some appearance of justice.

At Burgos, the king chastised severely such as had been guilty of cruelty and oppression during his minority, but at the same time took a resolution of gaining Don Juan the Deformed, if it was practicable, by fair means, though he knew that he had been practising with the courts of Arragon and Portugal to raise fresh disturbances, and had laboured to engage Don Alonso de la Cerda to revive his claim to the crown. Don Juan came, at the king's com-

Causes Don Juan the Deformed to be assassinated, and avows it to the people.

^a Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Ferreras. Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chron. Gen. de Hispan. Antiq.

^r Rod. Santii Chron. Var.

(H) The chief persons about the young king were Don Garcilasso de la Vega, who had been lord lieutenant of Castile, strongly attached to the infant Don Pedro, and, for that reason, extremely hated by the infant Don Juan, and his son Don Alvaro Nunez Osorio, a young cavalier of a good family, much of the king's disposition, the companion of his

diversions, and rather his favourite than his minister. We must add to these one Joseph, a Jew, upon whom he chiefly relied in affairs relating to money, as had been long the custom in Spain, notwithstanding the clamour of the people, the complaints of the clergy, and the remonstrances of the pope (1).

(1) Chron. del Rey Don Alonso XI. Mariana Hist. General de Hispan.

mand, to Burgos, attended by a strong corps of troops, and by a stronger of banditti and murderers, and, in compliance to him, the king forbid his subjects to molest them. He then tried every method, and made all the offers possible to engage him to return to his duty, and to give proper assurances for his future conduct; but he kept aloof, in consequence of an advertisement from Don Juan Emanuel, that in becoming the king's father-in-law, he did not cease to be his friend[†]. The king afterwards visited the rest of Castile, punishing malefactors wherever he came with unrelenting severity. On his arrival at Toro, and receiving advice of new intrigues between the two Don Juans, he ordered his favourite Don Alvaro Nugnez Oforio, to engage Don Juan the Deformed to come to him, under pretence that the king was inclined to give him the infanta Donna Leonora: with some difficulty he was drawn thither, and received by the king, on the last day of October, with all imaginable marks of kindness and favour[‡]. Next day he was invited to a feast; but as he entered the hall he was stabbed; and this was also the fate of two gentlemen his attendants, who, upon the first appearance of violence, had drawn in his defence[§]. On the succeeding day, the king appeared in public; and, being seated on a throne of state, and having admitted persons of all ranks into his presence, he stood up and told them, that Don Juan was a traitor, whom the misfortunes of the times had rendered too big for the laws; that his crimes, which he enumerated, together with the proofs, made it necessary to remove him, a step which had been taken by his orders, to prevent a new civil war; that notwithstanding this execution, he meant to make the laws the measure of his authority; and that none of his subjects had reason to fear, from what had happened to Don Juan, except those who meant to imitate his conduct. He proceeded next to seize all his estates; and having given an equivalent in money to Donna Maria Diaz, the mother of the late Don Juan, he annexed the lordship of Biscay to the crown[¶]. Don Juan Emanuel, though he had just gained a considerable victory over the Moors, made a truce with the king of Granada, and retired to the castle of Chinchilla, resolved not to trust his person in the hands of a prince capable of such sentiments, and of such actions[‡].

[†] Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Onzeno, par Don Juan Nunez Villalan. [‡] Chron. Gen. de Hispan. [§] Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Onzeno.

[¶] Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. [‡] Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

Next year the king went to Segovia, and enquired into a seditious tumult that had happened there two years before, in which some blood had been shed, and for which those who had been most culpable were now severely punished. Thence he proceeded to Toledo, hearing the complaints of his people wherever he came, enquiring diligently into the truth of the facts, and punishing, with equal severity, such as had been guilty of bad actions, and such as were either weak or wicked enough to bring false accusations. While he resided there the infant Don Philip died on the 5th of June, much regretted by his nephew. Upon certain intelligence that Don Juan Emanuel was endeavouring to raise fresh troubles, the king removed his brother-in-law, the archbishop of Toledo, from the post of chancellor, with which removal that prelate was so much offended, that he exchanged his see for that of Tarragona². As for Don Juan Emanuel, no invitations or promises could induce him to quit his retreat, where he studied how to revive those troubles to which he owed his greatness, and issued his orders on all sides to his dependents, agreeable to these resolutions; of which conduct the king being informed, gave the government of the marches of the kingdom of Murcia, which Don Juan inherited from his father, to a nobleman upon whom he could more safely rely¹.

*Archbishop
of Toledo,
brother to
Don Juan
Emanuel,
removed
from the
chancery.*

In the course of the ensuing year the king took the field against the Moors, with whom Don Juan Emanuel had entered into an alliance. He ordered the admiral of Castile to clear the seas, who defeated a strong Squadron from Barbary, with troops on board; and coming to pay his duty to the king at Seville, presented him with three hundred slaves. The king laid siege to Olibera, and from thence made some expeditions, in which he was not very successful; however, he persisted in his design, and, at length, reduced that and several other places^b. On the frontiers of Murcia there was an insurrection, excited by Don Juan, which had no great effect; however the king, who would not be insulted without shewing his resentment, immediately gave away all his employments; and, which perhaps was not altogether so justifiable, put his daughter, Donna Constantia, who had borne the title of queen, under a guard. Don Juan, upon this outrage, sent him word that he renounced his allegiance, and that

*Don Juan
Emanuel
revolts, and
renounces
his allegi-
ance to
king Alonso.*

A.D. 1327.

² Roderic Santii Hist. Hisp. par. iv.
^a Chronica de los Moros de Espana.

^a Chron. Var. Antiq.

he looked upon himself as at liberty to take what measures he pleased^c. He then addressed himself to the king of Arragon, representing how nearly his daughter was allied in blood to that crown, and how injurious the usage was that she had met with from the king of Castile. His complaints were held reasonable, and that monarch promised him all the assistance in his power, in hopes of which, Don Juan, with what forces he could collect, began to make inroads into Castile, which he wasted with fire and sword.

In consequence of which the disorders in Castile become much greater than ever.

We have already seen the great troubles and disturbances arising from ambition, resentment, and private interest; but nothing hitherto related comes near to those troubles that were excited by Don Juan Emanuel, whose turbulent spirit was supported by abilities, that Providence, in compassion to human society, very rarely bestows upon such men. A body of troops from Arragon traversed the dominions of Castile, in order to join him, and marked their route with fire and sword wherever they passed. The prior of St. John, who was very closely connected with Don Juan, prevailed upon Toro, Zamora, and some other places, to declare against the king, under pretence that he was wholly governed by Don Alvaro Nunez Osorio, whom the king had lately created count of Trastámara^d. The king, who had assembled a considerable army near Seville, passed from thence to Cordova, where he caused Don Juan Ponce de Cabrera to be beheaded for the share he had in the sedition raised there, and put some other persons to death on the same account; and having found means to engage the court of Arragon, where Don Alonso had lately mounted the throne, to withdraw its countenance from Don Juan, he caused Escalona to be invested, which was one of the strongest places in Don Juan's possession^e. In the mean time Garcilasso de la Vega, whom he had promoted to the dignity of Chancellor, being at Soria in Castile, and having declared that he had the king's orders to provide, in the most effectual manner, for the security of that kingdom, some secret friends of Don Juan whispered it about, that he had private orders to put some persons of distinction to death. This rumour gave rise to a conspiracy, in consequence of which the chancellor was stabbed upon his knees at church, with

^c Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ^d Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Zurit. Annal Arragon. Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. ^e Ferreras Hist. de Hispania, par. vii. sect. xiv.

twenty-four other persons, amongst whom were his son, and several of high rank. The king, having concluded a marriage with Donna Maria, infanta of Portugal, which he intended to celebrate as soon as the campaign should be over, sent for Donna Leonora, his sister, from Valladolid, when, through the arts of Don Juan, a rumour being spread that the king intended to marry her to his favourite the count of Trastamara, the people revolted, upon which the king was obliged to raise the siege of Escalona, to march thither. The inhabitants of Valladolid shut their gates, and held out a siege, which the king carried on with such vigour, that the town must infallibly have been taken, if the same arts that produced their revolt had not raised a sedition in his camp, where several of the principal nobility told him plainly, that the only way to put an end to these disturbances was to disgrace the count Don Alvaro, a measure which was immediately pursued ^c. The count, thereupon, retired to his castle of Belbar, where he commenced rebel in his turn; but Don Juan Ramirez, with the king's consent, pretended to desert to him, and being kindly received by the count, took an opportunity to stab him; an execution which put an end to all the insurrections in Castile. The king, towards the close of the year, celebrated his marriage with the infanta of Portugal, and gave his sister, Donna Eleonora, in marriage to Don Alonso, king of Arragon; and thus an end was put to all troubles for the present ^d.

A.D. 1328.

In the beginning of the next year, the king having held an assembly of the states at Burgos, and conducted his sister, Donna Leonora, to the frontiers of Arragon, he concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the monarch of that country, and with the king of Portugal, in order to prosecute the war against the Moors with effect ^e. The conferences for this purpose being over, the king went to Soria, where he made a strict inquisition into the murder of Garcilasso de la Vega, punished such of the principal assassins with death as could be found, and seized the estates and effects of such as had concerted their security by a quick retreat. Don Juan Emanuel in the mean time had projected several marriages, by the means of which he proposed to aggrandize Don Ferdinand de la

The king labours to bring Don Juan Emanuel back to his duty, but without effect.

^c Chronica General de Espana, Emanuel de Faria y Sousa.
^e Roderic. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. Zurit. Annal Arragon. Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. ^d Zurit. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno, &c. Emanuel de Faria y Sousa.

A.D. 1329. Cerda, Don Juan de Lara, and to bind them to his party. Though the king had timely information of these intrigues, yet he made fresh offers to that potent lord, to engage him to return to his duty, and even went so far as to offer him to set his daughter at liberty, and to pay him a considerable sum of money, if, instead of disturbing the peace of his country, he would concur in making war against the Moors.

Makes a campaign against the Moors, and falls into an intrigue with Donna Leonora de Guzman.

Don Alonso, after having conferred once more with the king of Portugal, proceeded to the frontiers, and, finding his forces in excellent order, began the operations of the campaign with the siege of Tebe. Ozmin, who commanded the Moorish army, practised various stratagems in order to divide the Christian troops, but to no purpose; however, he encouraged the besieged to make a gallant defence, afforded them frequent succours, and spun out the campaign to the 1st of August, when the place surrendered, and the Moors abandoned several little towns and castles in the neighbourhood^h. Upon the king's return to Seville, he engaged in an amour with Donna Leonora de Guzman, a lady of high quality, and great endowments of mind, by whom he had several children (I).

There

^h Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. Chron. de los Moros de Hispana.

(I) We are constrained, in order to render the current of our relation more intelligible, to enter a little into the secret history of this reign, which, though we are always unwilling to do, yet is sometimes requisite to be done. By comparing the Spanish and Portuguese historians one might be tempted to affirm that Don Alonso of Castile had at this time no less than three wives, or, to speak with propriety, who were, or whom he persuaded to think themselves such. The first was Donna Maria of Portugal, whom he

married rather from a principle of policy than affection, and with whom he lived but indifferently, reproaching her with the want of issue, though they had not been long married, and which, some writers tell us, she took pains to wipe away (1). She was a prudent woman, and knew how to dissemble more passions than one. The second was Donna Leonora de Guzman, the daughter of Don Pedro Nunez de Guzman, and the widow of Don Juan de Velasco, lately deceased: her riches and her wit set off to great advantage a

^m Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. Epitome de las Hist. Portuguesas, lib. iii. Mayerne, Turquet, Historia General de Hispana, lib. xiv.

There he received ambassadors from the king of Granada, who offered to become his vassal, and to pay an annual tribute of twelve thousand pieces of gold, which was accepted, chiefly with a view of depriving Don Juan Emanuel of the protection of this prince¹.

The king returning from Seville into Castile, was met in his passage, very unexpectedly, by Don Alonso de la Cerda, who told him, that being heartily weary of the life

A.D 1330.
Receives
Don Alonso
de la Cerda
into fa-
vour.

¹ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Moros de Hispana.

person so fine, that she was esteemed the greatest beauty in Spain. The king, from the time he became enamoured of her, preserved no decency in his family or with the world, but behaved towards her in public as if she had been his queen, while Donna Maria had as little state about her as if she had been his mistress (2). The third was Donna Constantia, the daughter of Don Juan Emanuel, to whom the king had been contracted, and with whom he continued to hold a private correspondence by letters, in which he told her that she was the first mistress of his affections, and gave her hopes that, by the help of a divorce, she might one day become the partner of his bed and throne (3). Each had their political intrigues. The prior of St. John, who had excited the great revolt in Castile, was the queen's chancellor; and through him she corresponded with Don Juan Emanuel and Don Juan de Lara, in favour

of whom she brought the king her father into a war with the king her husband (4). Donna Leonora had also a correspondence with Don Juan Emanuel, and with other great persons about the court, who knew that to gain her was the only way to gain the king's favour. Donna Constantia, by her father's direction, managed a correspondence with the king with great dignity and decency; acknowledged that her hopes were once fixed upon him, reproached him with the ill usage of his queen, and intimated, that his mistress had other gallants (5). In a word, Donna Leonora knew how to govern the king, and was proud of it. The queen was able to govern herself, and, by doing so, triumphed in the end. Donna Constantia, by her address, maintained an interest in the king, till, by his consent, she espoused the prince of Portugal, of which country she became afterwards queen.

(2) Chron. del Rey Don Alonso XI. Mariana, lib. xv. (3) Faria y Sousa, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iii. (4) Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Faria y Sousa, Ferreras. (5) Faria y Sousa, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iii. Chron. del Rey Don Alonso XI. Mariana, lib. xv.

he had hitherto led, he was very desirous of passing the remainder of his days in peace; and that, forgetting past disputes, he hoped the monarch of Castile would consider him as a prince of his blood, and as his faithful subject. The king received him with the utmost affection, gave him an ample establishment, and assured him he might depend upon his favour and protection. At his coronation the same year, at Burgos, Don Alonso de la Cerda assisted, and did him homage; and the feasts which attended this ceremony, were the most magnificent that ever had been seen in Castile. Don Juan Emanuel, who for two years past had affected to live in such a manner as to give the king no umbrage, entered now into a treaty with Donna Leonora de Guzman, and offered, if she could prevail upon the king to repudiate the infanta of Portugal, and to marry her, he would return to court, and depend upon her protection. That lady generously answered, that if he would return to his duty, he might depend upon her favour; but that she did not either hope or desire to espouse the king. About the same time, by a stroke of that policy which was natural to him, he caused it to be insinuated to the king of Portugal, that the queen, his daughter, was very miserable, that Donna Leonora de Guzman was in possession of the king's affections, and that his own daughter, Donna Constantia, was a better match for the prince of Portugal, than the king's niece Donna Blanca, daughter to the infant Pedro, who had many infirmities ^k.

*Institutes
the order
of the
Band.*

The king who had intelligence of these proceedings, instituted a new order of knighthood, with a political view of attaching those, upon whom it was conferred, in a more particular manner to his person, which, from the knights wearing a ribbon over the right shoulder, was styled the order of the Band. At first it was in very high esteem, but by degrees grew into disuse ^l. The king of Granada made this year a voyage to Africa, in order to demand assistance from Abul Assan, king of Morocco, under pretence that Don Alonso of Castile had nothing so much at heart as the utter extirpation of the Mohammedans in Spain, and having obtained from him the promise of powerful succours, and a present supply of seven thousand horse, he returned very well satisfied into his own dominions, where he no sooner arrived than he renewed his intrigues with Don

^k Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. *Chronica General de Hispana.*
Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

^l Mariana. Ferreras.

Juan Emanuel; who was employed in raising a new citadel at Ucles. He had engaged Don Juan Nugnez de Lara, and several other persons of great distinction, in a confederacy; and it was agreed that they should be all ready to act at a convenient time ^m. The queen, Donna Maria, was brought to-bed of the infant Don Ferdinand, and soon after Donna Leonora Guzman was delivered of Don Sancho, to whom the king gave the lordship of Le Desma.

The reinforcement from Africa arrived on board a fleet of transports from Morocco at Algeriza, under the command of Abul Malic, the son of Abul Assan; the Christian fleet under the command of Don Alonso Tenorio, having put to sea too late to prevent their landing. The first service the African troops performed, was besieging Gibraltar, in which Don Vasco Perez de Meyra commanded. Don Alonso of Castile, upon advice of this siege, assembled a powerful army in order to relieve it, and in his march had a conference with Don Juan Emanuel and Don Juan de Lara, who pretended an inclination to make their submission, and invited the king to dine with them in their castle of Becerril. He accepted their invitation, and they promised to dine with him next day, but either through fear or falsehood, they broke their word, and the treaty came to nothing ⁿ. Not long after this interview, Don Juan Emanuel sent the king word, that if he would order his arrears to be paid, he would make a powerful diversion through the kingdom of Jaen, and prevent the kingdom of Granada from joining Abul Malic. Don Alonso, like a great prince, complied with his demand; Don Juan Emanuel behaved also like himself, that is, he took the money, and broke his word ^o. The king, however, marched to the relief of Gibraltar, but when he was within sight of the place, he was informed that the governor had betrayed it to the enemy.

Don Alonso continued to advance, invested that place, and besieged it, but for want of provisions was forced to raise the siege; however, a supply arriving just as the army broke up, he returned thither ^p. The king of Granada having joined Abul Malic, marched with a numerous army to raise the siege. Don Alonso, as became a prudent officer, remained within his entrenchments, and

Abul Malic advances to Gibraltar, and forms the siege.

A. D. 1533.

Don Juan Emanuel, and other malecontents, raise new troubles in the kingdom.

^m Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Moros de Hispana. ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Ferreras. ^o Chron. Var. Antiq. ^p Chronica de los Moros de Hispana.

could not be drawn out to fight. All his caution, however, proved ineffectual; for Don Juan Emanuel, Don Juan de Lara, and Don Juan Alonso de Haro, with the very money that the king had given them, had raised forces, and ravaged Castile in such a manner, that the king was obliged to conclude a truce with the Moors, and to march to the relief of his subjects: another motive which determined him to this measure, was the intelligence he had received, that several lords in the kingdom of Jaen were on the point of joining the Moors, for which treason he caused one of their heads to be struck off, when he arrived in those parts; but the rest executed their purpose, and fled to Granada. The king of Morocco, refusing to ratify the truce, unless the tribute of the king of Granada was remitted, he was obliged to comply, his subjects in Castile being so much distressed by the rebels, that they dispatched express upon express to hasten the king's march to their assistance.

The king endeavours to extinguish factions by extraordinary acts of severity.

Though the king was very impatient, and did all that was in his power to comply with the requests of his subjects, yet it was Lent before he was able to leave Seville. When he reached Ciudad Real, a gentleman brought him a letter from Don Juan de Lara, in which he told him that he quitted his service for ever, and renounced his allegiance. The king, having read this epistle, said it came a little too late, that he wasted his territories, and oppressed his people while he was yet in his service, and his subject; "and therefore," said he, "take this honest gentleman, who has been in all his secrets, and made no scruple of sharing in his rebellion, and strike off his hands and feet, and then his head." This severity struck a great terror, and made people less inclined to have any correspondence with the malecontents. The king prosecuted the war against Don Juan de Lara with incredible diligence, and hunted him very closely; but not being able to take him, he went into Biscay, which country he entirely reduced. Upon his return to Burgos, a man was seized with letters from Don Juan Alonso de Haro, to Don Juan Emanuel and Don Juan de Lara, in which he pressed them not to submit to the king, but to do him all the mischief they could, assuring them of succours from the viceroy of Navarre. The king marched immediately, and surprised Don Juan de Haro in his castle, whom, after he had reproached

¶ *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. General de Hispana. Rod. Sancti Hist. Hispana, par. iv.*

¶ *Chronica*

with his perfidious behaviour, he ordered to be put to death; but he gave his lands to his two brothers.

After all this perfidy, Don Juan de Lara wrote to some persons near the king, that perceiving he was marked for destruction, he was desirous of knowing whether the king was inexorable or not; and if not, he was now ready to submit to such terms as he should prescribe. The king sent him word to render the two castles he then besieged, to renounce all title to Biscay, and to put some of his best places into his hands as pledges for his fidelity, with all which conditions he immediately complied; nevertheless, he was not admitted to the presence of his sovereign. The king having summoned the castle of Rojas, in which Diego Gilles commanded for Lopez Diaz, he returned no other answer than a shower of arrows and stones, though the persons were the king's immediate servants. After a short siege, he desired leave to march out, which was granted; but as soon as he and his garrison were in the field, the king caused him to be arrested, and brought to a court-martial, by which the governor and officers were condemned to death. This severity had one good effect, for no gentleman would afterwards charge himself with the custody of a castle, without inserting, in the oath of fidelity to his lord, that he would defend it against all persons whatever, the king only excepted *.

His conduct is in some measure justified by events.

A.D. 1334.

At the opening of the ensuing year, Don Juan Emanuel addressed himself to the king, with an offer of entire submission. He informed him that Don Pedro, prince of Portugal, finding it impossible to marry his niece Donna Blanca, who was paralytic, desired to espouse his daughter Donna Constantia, if the king would be pleased to give his consent. Don Alonso answered, that as to the first point, he was content to pardon all that was past, if Don Juan would behave as a good subject for the time to come; and that as to the latter, he would consider of it, and give him an answer †. Soon after came ambassadors from the crown of Portugal upon the same subject. The king, Don Alonso, having sent persons into that kingdom to examine into the matter of fact, upon their report that Donna Blanca was really afflicted with the palsy, he declared that he would not oppose the marriage of the prince Don Pedro with Donna Constantia, in hopes that this condescension would entirely restore the tranquility of his do-

Upon a short interval of quiet the king labours to divert his nobles with feasts.

* Chron. Var. Antiq. † Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Chronica General de Hispana, Rod. Santi Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

A.D. 1335. minions. To demonstrate how welcome this event would be to him, he celebrated Whitsuntide at Valladolid, with public feasts and a carousal, to which all the nobility were invited, and in which he himself and his knights of the Band opposed all comers.

*Viceroy of
Navarre
makes war
on Castile,
without
cause or
caution.*

But he had scarce begun to please himself with these hopes, when they were dissipated by an accident he could not foresee. Henry de Solis, viceroy of Navarre, published a manifesto, in which he charged the Castilians with having injured the subjects of Navarre on the frontiers, and declared that he meant to do himself justice by arms. Don Alonso was so desirous of quiet, that he offered any satisfaction, but the viceroy would accept of none; and having a very powerful army, made an irruption into Castile, on the side of Tudela, wasting every thing before him with fire and sword. Don Alonso assembled a body of troops for the defence of his dominions, and appointed Don Juan de Lara commander in chief, an office which he refusing, the king conferred it upon Martin Fernandez Portocarrero master of his household^u. Some of the principal nobility represented to the king, that he was by no means of a rank fit to command them; but that, to shew how sensible they were of the folly of private disputes, in a time of public danger, they thanked him for giving this opportunity of shewing their obedience, as he had done his sagacity in appointing one of the best officers in Castile to his command.

*Is severely
beaten, and
forced to
make peace
on worse
terms than
he might
have had
without a
war.*

Martin Fernandez marched with his forces, and the viceroy of Navarre sent him a haughty message, that he intended next day to reduce Alfaro, and plunder the country in the neighbourhood. Martin Fernandez marched towards the abbey of Futero, which they had already taken, and the viceroy thereupon dispatched his cavalry, to cover his new conquest. The viceroy seeming to persist in his first design, drew out his whole army to support his horse, of which design Martin Fernandez having received intelligence, prosecuted his march with great vigour, in order to give them battle. The dispute was sharp, but short, the army of Navarre being routed with great slaughter. He afterwards intercepted their cavalry in their retreat towards Tudela, and cut them off entirely, an action which put an end to the operations of the campaign. The war was terminated afterwards by a peace, under the mediation of

^u Histoire de Royaume de Navarre. Rod. Santii Hispan. par. iv. Chronica General de Hispana.

the crown of France ^w. At the close of the year, a council was held at Salamanca, in which sixteen canons were made, the great point in view being to extinguish the custom which still prevailed amongst the Spanish clergy of marrying, which, to render it odious, the court of Rome confounded with keeping concubines ^x.

When the king Don Alonso had made such dispositions for war against the Moors, who he had certain intelligence were meditating a general confederacy against him, he discovered a new contrivance for disturbing the peace of his people amongst his own nobility. Don Juan Emanuel and Don Juan de Lara were at the head of this; and what equally amazed and chagrined him, Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, and Don Juan Alonso de Albuquerque, for whom he had always testified the highest esteem, were engaged with them, the whole confederacy being formed under the protection of the king of Portugal ^y. Upon this discovery, he sent for Don Pedro de Castro, who, though he was in one of his own castles, made no scruple of obeying his order. He expostulated the matter with him freely; assured him that he was so sensible of his past services, that, having no other way to reward him, he had determined to marry his son the infant Don Henry, to his daughter; and that, if he had at any time given him offence, he was willing to give him what satisfaction he pleased. Don Pedro, afflicted and ashamed, freely confessed his fault, and promised to reclaim Don Juan de Albuquerque; which service, when he had performed, the king called together an assembly of the states, in which he fairly laid before them his condition and their own, with the several overtures he had made to Don Juan Emanuel, and Don Juan de Lara. The states immediately voted them both traitors, gave him five subsidies, and desired him to prosecute the war against them both, to their utter destruction ^z.

The states declare against Don Juan Emanuel and Don John Nunez de Lara, and proscribe them.

Don Juan Nunez de Lara made several propositions, very plausible in their nature, to prevent the storm which he saw ready to fall upon him, but the king rejected them all. In the month of June, the king took the field and invested Lerma, in which Don Juan de Lara was with a numerous garrison, excellently well provided. Don Juan Emanuel made various attempts to succour and relieve

After a long siege the latter surrenders to the king, is pardoned and preferred.

^w Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

d'Aguirre Conc. Hispan. tom. iii. p. 584.

^x Card.

Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Emanuel de Faria y Soufa.

^y Chronica del

Santii Hist. Hispan. Faria y Soufa.

^z Rod.

him, but was so closely pursued by the king, whenever he was in the field, that he was at length forced to consult his own safety, and retire into Arragon, having more than once very narrowly escaped falling into the hands of his sovereign. When the siege had continued for several months, and the place was in apparent danger, the secret friends of Don Juan de Lara practised every art to extricate him from his difficulties. The king of Portugal claimed him as his subject and vassal. Don Alonso answered he might be so; but he was also his rebel, and as such he would punish him. This declaration produced a war between the two crowns, which, however, could not oblige the king to raise the siege. The queen Donna Maria was then prevailed upon to go to the camp, and to interpose in his favour, but that interposition also was without effect. At length, towards Christmas, his escape was contrived through a common sewer, of which contrivance the king, having intelligence, surprised his friends at the mouth of it, and it was with some difficulty that he got back. This detection humbled him to such a degree, that he sent to the king to know what terms he would be pleased to prescribe. Don Alonso answered, that he would grant him and his people their lives, except three persons who had deserted from his camp ^a. Don Juan, having first provided for the escape of these three men, named a day for delivering the place; and though the king sent him a horse, yet he chose to meet him on foot, kissed his hand with great respect, and assured him that he would be from that moment his most faithful servant. The king ordered the fortification of Lerma to be demolished, carried Don Juan with him to Valladolid, restored him to his post of standard-bearer of Castile, and made him several considerable presents; which had such an effect, that, during the remainder of his life, he was the most steady and the most affectionate servant the king had ^b.

A.D. 1337.

A truce, with difficulty, concluded between the crowns of Castile and Portugal.

The new year brought with it new disturbances. Don Pedro, who had succeeded his father Don Alonso, as king of Arragon, was upon extreme bad terms with his mother-in-law Donna Leonora, sister to the king of Castile, which induced him to favour Don Juan Emanuel. On the other hand, it produced a civil war in his own dominions, several great lords declaring on the side of the queen-dowager;

^a Chronica General de Hispana. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Faria y Sousa. ^b Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Mariana. Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

but at length, through the interposition of Don Juan de Lara, these disputes were compromised. The mother of that lord, who had a very great interest with the king, presumed upon it so far, as to deliver him a letter from Don Juan Emanuel, in which he made great professions of penitence, and of inclinations to return to the king's service: to which Don Alonso answered, it was entirely in his own power, and that whenever he was disposed to give him proofs of his obedience, he might depend upon his favour. Upon this assurance, Don Juan Emanuel submitted. In regard to Portugal, the war went on; the fleet of Castile was victorious by sea, and the king rejected all terms of accommodation, notwithstanding the pope interposed; at length, however, the legate putting the king in mind that every step he took to gratify his resentment was destructive of his interest, since it was very well known that the Moors intended to attack them both, he was at length prevailed upon to listen to some accommodation with his father-in-law; but, however, the negotiation was not perfected till the beginning of the year following.

The repeated advices he received from Barbary, left him no room to doubt that he should quickly find himself exposed to as great danger from the infidels as any that his ancestors had overcome. The king of Morocco, Jacob Abul Affan, was providing a prodigious force by land and sea, and having reduced the little kingdoms of Tunis and Tremecen, was to the full as formidable as any of his predecessors. The king, Don Alonso, ratified the truce with Portugal, and, perhaps, would have done it more readily, but that he was willing to make that monarch believe that he did not readily forgive any assistance given to the malcontents. He afterwards held an assembly of the states of Castile, in which some excellent laws were made.

The king went from Burgos to the frontiers of Arragon, to confer with his sister the queen-dowager, with whom he found Don Juan de Lara, and his mother. After this interview, Don Juan proposed that the king should go to the castle of Garcia Munoz, where he assured him, that Don Juan Emanuel had given orders, that he should be received with the utmost respect, and the place put into his hands. The king went and took possession of it; and, upon his arrival at Cuenca, Don Juan himself came to pay his duty. He was so kindly and frankly received by the king, that he could not forbear telling him, that it should be the business of his life to remember the offences he had given, and his study to make his majesty forget them.

The

Excellent laws made for the reformation of manners in the dominions of Castile.

Don Juan Emanuel submits, and is reconciled to the king Don Alonso.

The king took this declaration so well, that he confided to him the care of his interests at the court of Arragon, and sent him thither to manage them, a commission which he executed with equal integrity and address ^c. Pope Benedict XII. wrote about this time to the king, to thank him for the respect paid to his interposition in the affair of Portugal, and to exhort him to part with Donna Leonora de Guzman, and to lead a life worthy of a Christian prince ^d.

*A campaign
against the
Moors, in
which the
king is suc-
cessful, and
Abul Malic
slain.*

The insinuations of Don Juan Emanuel had such an influence over the king of Arragon, that not content with accommodating every thing to the satisfaction of his mother-in-law, he resolved to enter into a close alliance with the king of Castile, as the only means for securing both kingdoms against the invasion of the Moors, which appeared every day more formidable. Accordingly, he sent an ambassador for that purpose, and a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded, from which both princes promised not to depart, or to make any truce with the infidels, but in conjunction ^e. Don Alonso proceeded then to the frontiers, and at Seville conferred the honour of knighthood on Don Juan de Lara with his own hand. He entered the enemies territories with a numerous and complete army, and ravaged the country about Ronda, till, through want of provisions, he found himself obliged to retire. The Moors thinking it a very favourable opportunity to strike a bold stroke, issued out of the place with great fury, and fell upon the rear of the Christian army. Don Juan Emanuel, Don Juan de Lara, and the grand-master of the order of St. James, who commanded there, repressed them but faintly, and restrained the ardour of the soldiers for some time; till at length, being at a great distance from the place, those three officers having conferred together, faced about at once, and charged the Moors so vigorously, that they fled to an adjacent mountain, which was of very difficult ascent. The Castilian cavalry, however, dismounted, and forced the passage, though with difficulty and loss; but of this numerous detachment of the Moors, there did not escape a single man ^f. In the autumn, Don Alonso de Guzman, grand-

^c Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chron. Gen. de Hisp. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

^d Rainald. Epist. Benedict XII.

^e Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Zurit. Annal. Arragon.

^f Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. Mariana. Mayerne. Turquet. Ferreras. Faria y Sousa.

master of the order of St. James, defeated the king of Granada before Silos. Abul Malic, with the army of Morocco, was still more unfortunate, for he was defeated by Don Alonso's generals, and killed in his retreat ^e. This year would have ended happily, if the grand-master of the order of St. James, resenting, too hastily, some ill usage from Donna Leonora de Guzman, had not revolted against the king. He renounced his allegiance so entirely, that when the king approached the walls of the fortress where he was, in order to expostulate with him, he caused him to be repulsed with arrows and stones, some of which fell on his shield, and others wounded his horse, for which outrageous insolence, when it was reduced, the king caused him to be put to death ^h. A.D. 1339.

Abul Assan, king of Morocco, not at all discouraged by the defeats of the preceding year, or the loss of his son, prosecuted the war with a degree of fury that sufficiently spoke his resentment. He assembled a great army, a vast quantity of military stores and provisions, and a fleet of two hundred sail, exclusive of thirty galleys. Don Alonso did all that was possible to provide against this invasion: by the rudeness of the winter, he lost several of his ships; and by the unwholesomeness of the season, a great number of men; so that the admiral could not possibly hinder, with six ships and twenty-seven galleys, the Moors from passing. Donna Elvira, the wife of the admiral, hearing what weak and improper judges said, wrote to her husband that his fidelity was suspected, and that it was supposed he had received a vast sum of money to let the Moors pass. Upon having received a reinforcement of six galleys, he sailed with so inconsiderable a strength, and to wipe off this imaginary stain, sacrificed himself and the whole fleet, five galleys only excepted ⁱ. The king, Don Alonso, provided Tarefa for a long siege, and was forced to apply to the king of Portugal, his father-in-law, for assistance by sea; and in order to obtain it, had recourse to the queen Donna Maria, who wrote in the most pressing terms to the king her father, and sent it by the dean of Toledo, her chancellor; upon which he sent the fleet of Portugal to Seville.

Don Alonso dispatched also a minister to Genoa, and Don Juan Martinez, to expostulate with the king of Ar- *The king of Morocco arms, in order to revenge his son's death, and defeats the Castile fleet.*

^e Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. ^h Mariana. Ferreras. ⁱ Chron. Gen. de Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Hispan.

ragon,

A peace and alliance concluded between the crowns of Castile and Portugal.

ragon, for not sending the vessels he had promised to his fleet. That prince answered plainly, that it was for want of money to equip them, otherwise he had ten gallies which he would have sent. Don Juan advanced the money necessary, and instead of ten, the king sent twelve^k. The Genoese also sold him their assistance, but sold it dear. While Don Alonso was employed in these preparations, the king of Morocco transported upwards of sixty thousand men into Spain. The king of Castile sent an embassy to Don Alonso, king of Portugal, to thank his father-in-law for the succours he had given him, and to let him know that he was desirous of turning the truce which they had concluded into a solemn peace, which was signed on the 10th of July. One of the articles was, that the king should permit Donna Constantia, the daughter of Don Juan Emanuel, to go into Portugal, to consummate her marriage with the infant Don Pedro, to whom she had been espoused by proxy, some years before. When Don Alonso laid down the pen, after having signed this treaty, Don Juan Emanuel seized his hand, and kissed it with great transport, assuring him he would never forget the obligation conferred upon him by this favour. The king, to heighten it, gave him leave to conduct his daughter in person, and sent some of the greatest men in the kingdom to accompany him^l, and to be witnesses of the marriage.

Abul Assan invests Tarefa with a prodigious army, and is joined by the king of Granada.

Abul Assan, king of Morocco, arrived in the latter end of the summer. Having joined the army of the king of Granada, he marched to Tarefa, in which was Juan Alonso de Benavides, and invested it on the 23d of September. The governor immediately gave the king notice of the situation things were in, and prepared to make as good a defence as possible. The siege, however, was carried on with all imaginable vigour, and the place in great danger, when the garrison received fresh spirits from the appearance of the fleet of Castile, under the command of the new admiral Don Alonso Ortiz, riding in the streights, by whom the daily supplies of provisions, which hitherto the Moors had received, were intercepted, and the besiegers reduced to the utmost distress. The face of things was quickly changed: a tempest dispersed the Christian fleet, and all, except three gallies, were lost, a disaster which plunged the garrison once more into deep distress.

^k Brandaon. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Ferreras. ^l Faria y Sousa. Brandaon. Chron. de los Moros de Hisp. Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Ferreras.

The king being informed of their circumstances, took a generous resolution of hazarding all for their relief. He sent the queen into Portugal, to procure what succours she could from the king her father; and that brave prince resolved to march to his assistance with the whole force of his kingdom^m.

Don Alonso received him at Seville with all possible marks of gratitude, reverence, and friendship; and when the two armies had rested and refreshed themselves, they marched towards the enemy, being about eighteen or twenty thousand horse, and forty thousand foot. They arrived in sight of Tarefa, on Sunday the 29th of October, and held it for a good omen, that they received intelligence of Don Pedro de Moncado's arrival in the streights, with the fleet of Arragon. In the night, the king threw a reinforcement of one thousand horse and four thousand foot into Tarefa. The next morning, having made the necessary dispositions, and sent a strong detachment to join the Portuguese, he advanced to attack the king of Morocco, while the king of Portugal acted against the king of Granada. The dispute was long and obstinate, more especially on the side of the king of Castile, but at length the Moors were defeated, with the loss of near half their army, amounting to two hundred thousand men. The king of Granada retired into his own dominions, with the broken remains of his forces; the king of Morocco retired first to Algeriza, thence to Gibraltar, from whence he passed to Ceura in the night. The victor kings, after having provided for the security of Tarefa, went together to Seville, where prodigious rejoicings were made; the king of Castile offered his father-in-law all the prisoners and plunder, which he generously refused; and it was with great difficulty that he was brought to accept a few of the principal prisoners, some very rich arms, and a few jewels. His son-in-law accompanied him two days journey, in his march towards Estremos. The king of Castile from this time, as well out of gratitude as piety, conversed with Donna Leonora de Guzman no more, except in public, and as the mother of his childrenⁿ.

The king, Don Alonso, sent an ambassador with his own standard, twenty-four horses richly caparisoned, and

The kings of Castile and Portugal gain the glorious victory of Salseto.

A.D. 1340.

Don Alonso reduces Alcalá de Benzayde, Moclin, and several other places.

^m Brandaon. Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Outeno, par Don Juan Nunez de Villafan. Chron. de los Moros de Hispana.

ⁿ Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan.

twenty-four Moors to lead them, as a present to the pope at Avignon^p. The king having summoned the states of his dominions, and having laid before them his wants, they, in consideration of his late victory, and the zeal expressed for them, and the good of his subjects, made him a tender of a large free gift, which he refused, and accepted only of a part, saying, that his own necessities forced him to take that, and the sense he had of their's, to decline the rest. He had formed a design of investing Alcala de Benzayde, a place of great importance to him, because the loss of it could not but be very sensible to the king of Granada, since it opened a passage into the heart of his dominions. By causing a report to be spread that he intended to attack Malaga, and causing some of his ships to appear before it, he drew the king of Granada's forces on that side, a stratagem which left him at liberty to invest Alcala without opposition. He had no sooner formed the siege, than Don Gilles de Boccanegra, brother to the duke of Genoa, arrived with a strong squadron of gallies in the streights, and prevented any troops passing from Barbary. The king of Granada, however, was reinforced by the best part of that corps, which his ally, the king of Morocco, had left at Algeriza, and with these and with his own army he attempted to relieve Alcala, but in vain; upon which Don Alonso, having offered the garrison that they should march out, and be escorted to whatever place they pleased, they very readily accepted these terms. While the king was employed in this siege, some of his generals reduced the castle of Moclin; and after the surrender of Alcala, the king made himself master of several places of less importance; which conquests so alarmed the Moorish prince, that he offered to become his vassal again, and to pay him the accustomed tribute; but Don Alonso insisted, that he should renounce his alliance with Abul Assan, which condition he rejected, and thus the negotiation ended^p.

A D 1341.

*The king
at length
undertakes
the very
important
siege of Al-
geriza.*

The king found great difficulty in raising the supplies for the next year, and money was extremely necessary, as he had the Genoese and other foreigners in his pay, and therefore what he could not obtain from the states, he borrowed. The king of Morocco had made vast preparations, and seemed disposed to return once more into Spain.

o Rainald. Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Mayerne, Turquet. p Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. Mariana. Ferreras.

Don Gilles de Boccanegra sunk, burned, and took twelve of his gallies that lay in port; and being afterwards joined by ten gallies from Portugal, and the squadron of Arragon, attacked and defeated the whole Moorish fleet^a.

The king, to rid himself once for all from the apprehensions he was under from Barbary, resolved to besiege Algeriza, which was at that time but indifferently provided: this enterprize equally amazed and chagrined the king of Granada, who endeavoured and found several methods of conveying succours into the place, which kept Don Alonso before it all the rest of the year. The Moor attempted likewise its relief, by negotiation and by force, but without effect. He likewise commissioned a Moor to make an attempt upon the king of Castile's person, which was happily discovered and prevented^r.

There are few instances in history of a more remarkable siege than this of Algeriza, in which, on both sides, there was manifested all that human skill and courage could perform: the king of Morocco raised another great army, and assembled a vast fleet; but when he was ready to pass the streights, one of his sons revolted; and though he found means to have him killed, yet one of his adherents personated him and maintained a rebellion. The king of Granada, having received a part of the succours which his ally had promised, under the command of prince Aly, another of his sons, attempted over and over again to raise the siege, and ventured several actions, in which he was defeated by Don Juan de Lara. The besieged thundered upon the king's camp with cannon, which were here first employed, as all the Spanish historians agree. Besides this opposition from his enemies, Don Alonso found himself much straitened in other respects. He could not leave the siege to seek supplies, and his credit was gradually exhausting. At length he thought of a stratagem, which procured him those aids his subjects had refused. He sent his own plate, and that of the lords who were with him, to Seville, where he ordered it to be coined into pieces current, at a higher rate than the standard; of which design the inhabitants in his great cities having notice, offered him a large free gift to desist from that expedient, which he willingly accepted^s.

Artillery used by the Moors in the defence of that place against the Castilians.

^a Zurit. Annal Arragon. Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ou-
zeno. Brandaon.

^r Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. Rod.
Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Ferreras.

^s Chron. del Rey
Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. Mariana,
Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

*Remarkable
circum-
stances dur-
ing this
siege,
which at-
tracted the
eyes of all
Europe.*

The pope and the French king likewise sent him large sums. The fame of this siege was so great, that Don Philip, king of Navarre, repaired thither with a great body of troops, and died in his return: several English and French men of quality, with considerable reinforcements, went thither, and served for a time; but the extreme length of the siege tired out all the strangers, and brought the king into fresh distresses for money, the Genoese threatening to return or to revolt if they were not paid. On the other hand, the king of Granada made a proposition to pay the whole expences of the war, if the king would raise the siege; and the hungry troops importuned the king to close with these offers; but his good sense furnished him with an expedient to turn even this offer to his advantage: he demanded three hundred thousand pistoles in gold, and granted a passport for a galley to go to Ceuta to receive them from the king of Morocco. This galley in her return, notwithstanding the king's passport, was attacked by the Genoese, but, however, escaped; but, instead of bringing the money, brought an order to hazard a battle, and to save the place at any rate. These orders were obeyed, and the Moors thoroughly defeated. Still the place held out, notwithstanding the port was blocked up, not only by a strong squadron, but by a kind of dyke, in spite of which one Muza, a Moorish seaman, at stated times when the nights were dark, passed with fifty small vessels that drew little water, and carried supplies of provisions; so that, notwithstanding the king's information was true, that their magazines were low at the beginning, yet they were, by this means, supplied, and the place remained in the hands of the Moors all this year.

A.D. 1543.

*Algeriza
at last sur-
rendered to
Don Alonso
by the kings
of Morocco
and Grana-
da.*

At the beginning of the next, the king discovered Muza's practice; and made such alterations in his dyke, as rendered it impassible for the future, of which circumstance Abul Assan being informed, he directed the king of Granada to make the best terms for the garrison he could. That prince proposed to Don Alonso, that the troops and inhabitants should have free leave to march out; that he would acknowledge himself his vassal, and pay the usual tribute; and that a truce should subsist for fifteen years. The king, to maintain his dignity, reduced the truce to ten years; and upon these terms the capitulation was signed on the twenty-sixth of March, when the plenipotentiaries of the king of Granada, kissed Don Alonso's

Alonso's hand, in token of homage^t. The place was evacuated next day, and Don Juan Emanuel entered it with a corps of troops, and the banner of Castile displayed, to the immortal honour of this great prince, and of his faithful nobility; by whose constancy, expressed in expending vast sums for his service, and by exposing their persons, this great conquest was achieved. As soon as the king came to Seville, he ordered that the princesses, daughters of Abul Assan, who were taken in that monarch's camp, at the defeat of Salsedo, should be provided with magnificent equipages, and sent on board his own galleys to Ceuta, without ransom, and with all the rich jewels in their possession when taken. Abul Assan was amazed at this act of generosity. He sent an embassy to return the king of Castile thanks, and to testify his esteem by presents of jewels, rich arms, gold and silver stuffs, exquisite balsams and perfumes, together with lions, tigers, ostriches, and a considerable number of camels and horses^u. Soon after, Don Alonso received ambassadors from England and from Arragon, the former in reference to a marriage, which he thought proper to defer, and the latter in regard to the alliance subsisting between the two crowns, which the king was content to renew for ten years^v.

A.D. 1344.

The king was entirely occupied in finding ways and means to discharge the vast debts he had contracted during the tedious siege of Algeriza, in pacifying the king of Portugal, who took it much amiss that he was not comprised in the peace he made with the kings of Morocco and Granada, and in protecting his sister the queen of Arragon^x. The kingdom of Castile, it is true, enjoyed a profound peace, which, however, contributed very little to repair the losses sustained by the late war, since the inhabitants were afflicted with a grievous plague and other calamities. These distresses the king endeavoured to remedy to the utmost of his power, by several wise regulations, and by sparing them in the point of supplies as much as it was possible. He would in all probability have pursued this method of acting, at least, to the expiration of his truce

A.D. 1345.

A.D. 1147.

A.D. 1348.

^t Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Hispana. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Alphonso a Carthage Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras. ^u Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. Chron. general de Hispan. Rainald. ^v Zurrit. Annal. Arragon. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. ^x Zurrit. Annal. Arragon. P. de Espinosa. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

with the Moors, if his ambition had not been awakened by an unforeseen event, which seemed to promise himself and his subjects very great advantages ².

*Don Alonso
resolves to
break the
truce with
the Moors,
and besiege
Gibraltar.*

One of the sons of Abul Assan, forgetting the respect due to him by the laws of nature as well as civil society, had taken up arms against him, and thrown all that monarchy into confusion; of which revolt Don Alonso was no sooner informed, than he conceived in his mind a scheme for turning these dissensions in Barbary to his advantage. He called, with this view, an assembly of the states at Alcala de Henares, where he laid before them the situation things were in, the probability there was of his making himself-master of Gibraltar, the only place that monarch held in Spain; and thereby removing all fear of leaving his successors under the necessity of fighting for their crown, on terms as precarious as those upon which he fought the battle of Salsedo. This assembly closed with the king's proposition, and granted him the supplies that he demanded, which, however, was chiefly owing to his dexterity in managing such assemblies, an art in which he has hardly been excelled. These points being settled, he sent to demand of the king of Arragon a squadron of gallies, and dispatched ambassadors likewise to other foreign powers. About the beginning of the month of August, having intelligence that four Arragonese gallies had joined his fleet, and that it was cruizing off Gibraltar, he traversed Andalusia with a potent army, and invested that place, round which he opened a large and deep trench.

*Dies of the
plague be-
fore that
place at the
very time
it was a-
bout to ca-
pitulate.*

The siege continued that whole year, notwithstanding the king was so fortunate, at least in appearance, as to see all his schemes take effect; for his fleet effectually prevented succours coming by sea; the king of Granada was afraid to attempt any thing openly, and the confusions in Morocco prevented that monarch from being able to do any thing for its relief. The garrison and inhabitants therefore being in want of provisions, and the fortifications in a manner ruined, began to think of a capitulation, when the plague broke out in the camp ³. The infant (of Arragon) Don Ferdinand, his nephew Don Juan Nunez de Lara, who was always near his person, Don Ferdinand Emanuel, and other great lords, pressed the king, either to raise the siege, or at least to withdraw his own person;

² Chronica general de Espana. Ferreras Historia de Espana. Mariana. Meyerne, Turquet. ³ Chron. Var. Antiq. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Ferreras.

but it was in vain : he observed to them that Gibraltar had been lost during his minority, that he was under a kind of obligation to recover it to his country, and that the plague might reach him in his court as well as in the camp. Certain it is, the plague seized him at that critical juncture, and of it he died on Good-Friday, March the 26th, exceedingly regretted by the army, and by all his subjects^b. His nephew the infant Don Ferdinand, Don Juan Nunez de Lara, Don Ferdinand Emanuel, and some other nobleman, attended the king's body when it was removed from the camp ; and the Moors in Gibraltar shewed, upon this occasion, a politeness that ought to have covered their enemies with confusion : they suspended hostilities that whole day, and refused to take advantage of that sorrow and confusion which reigned through the Christian camp. The king's body was carried first to Seville, and deposited in the royal chapel till it could be removed to Cordova, where, by his last testament, he desired to be buried with his father.

The peace and glory of his country expired with Don Alonso. His successor, Don Pedro, surnamed the Cruel, was the only surviving son by the queen ; for Don Ferdinand died in his infancy : but by Donna Leonora de Guzman he had Sancho, who was weak in his mind and infirm in his body ; Henry Frederick, whom the Spaniards call Fradrique Hernando or Ferdinand, and Tello^c. At the time of his demise, Don Pedro was in his sixteenth year ; and though not a legal minor, yet was absolutely governed by the queen his mother, and her favourite Don Juan Alonso de Albuquerque. The siege of Gibraltar was carried on after the king's death, till orders could be received from court, and was then raised, though the place might have been easily taken^d. But the spirit of government was lost, and the spirit of intrigue occupied the court. Donna Leonora de Guzman retired immediately to Medina Sidonia, which the king had given her. The place was well provided and excellently fortified. She had intrusted it to the care of Don Alonso Coronel, an experienced officer, who had long enjoyed her protection, and who, as soon as the king expired, sought that of the queen. Many persons of great distinction, and most of the nobility of the illustrious house of Guzman,

*Don Pedro
the Cruel
succeeds his
father, and
is governed
by his mo-
ther and
Don Juan
de Albu-
querque.*

^b Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chronica general de Espana Mariana.

^c Chronica del Rey Don Pedro primero, &c.

^d Chronica general de Espana. Ferreras.

resorted to Donna Leonora, a circumstance which filled the court with apprehensions: these, however, it was thought proper to dissemble; and upon the faith of Don Juan de Albuquerque, and Don Juan de Lara, Donna Leonora was prevailed upon to go to the court at Seville, where, without any ceremony or regard to their faith, she was clapped into prison^e. Her sons, notwithstanding, were well received; and the king gave them to understand, that though he would not protect their mother, with whom he had no connections, yet he should always consider them as his brethren. They were permitted to visit Donna Leonora, who, in spite of the endeavours of the court, procured for Don Henry, Donna Joanna, the sister of Don Ferdinand Emanuel; which marriage so provoked the queen, that she gave orders for arresting Don Henry, but he made his escape into Asturias. The king's falling ill soon after, increased those jealousies that were but too high already; and upon his recovery, Don Juan de Lara and Don Ferdinand Emanuel retired from court, and died soon after, the former at Burgos, and the latter at Valena^f.

A.D. 1350.

*Consents to
the murder
of Donna
Leonora de
Guzman.*

The king Don Pedro removed in the beginning of the year from Seville; and carried with him Donna Leonora, under a guard. He visited, however, his brother Don Frederick, and feasted with him several days. Afterwards, the court repaired to Talavera, where, by the persuasion of his mother, the king consented to the death of the unfortunate Donna Leonora, the first stain on the annals of his reign, which were afterwards wrote in blood. This place belonged to the dowager, and to perpetuate the memory of this cruel act, is thought to have received the epithet of Talavera de la Reyna, which it still retains^g. Upon the king's arrival at Burgos, which city had shewn some dislike to Don Juan de Albuquerque, he sent for Garcilasso de la Vega, the son of the late chancellor; and as soon as he came into his palace, caused him to be murdered, and his body thrown into the street: he attempted likewise to get Don Nunez de Lara, the only son of Don Juan, then a child, into his power, but without effect; however, he died soon after, and then he seized all the estates of that family^h. Don Carlos, furnished the Wicked, king of Navarre, made him a visit at Burgos,

^e Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan.

^f Mariana. Mayerne, Turquet.

^g Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. Chronica General de Espana. Ferreras.

^h Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.

where he was well received, and after he had remained there some time, the two kings parted, perfectly pleased with each other¹. The states of Castile assembled at Valladolid, were not very complaisant to the king, who, as soon as they rose, went with his mother to Ciudad Rodrigo, in order to confer with his grandfather the king of Portugal. That monarch gave them a great deal of good advice, and engaged, or rather obliged, the king to be reconciled to his brother Don Henry count of Trastámara, who had taken shelter in his dominions, and who, notwithstanding, had no great confidence in the king or his favourite.

The tranquility of Castile could be of no long duration, under a prince so much hurried away by his passions. He prepared to reduce Don Alonso Fernandes Coronel, and having dropt some expressions that alarmed his brethren the counts Don Henry and Don Tello, they retired privately from court, and stood upon their defence, fully persuaded, that if the king had them once in his power, they should never have such an opportunity again. The king Don Pedro followed them into Biscay, and took several places; and it was while he was thus employed, that Don Juan Alonso de Albuquerque, from a base ambition, and through an unworthy scheme of politics, plunged this unfortunate prince in that fatal amour, which brought upon him destruction and disgrace. He had observed that the king had expressed some emotion at the sight of Maria de Padilla, a young gentlewoman who lived as a companion with his own wife, and was become a perfect beauty. By proposals of promoting their interests, he drew her relations to consent to his scheme of her becoming the king's mistress, though he knew that the queen his mother was actually treating of a marriage for the king, with Donna Blanca, daughter to the duke of Bourbon. His scheme succeeded to his wish, the king saw Donna Maria at Sahagun, and became captivated to such a degree, that the common people of those times believed, and the bulk of the Spanish historians have reported, that he was bewitched*.

This intrigue did not hinder the king from pursuing his revenge against Don Alonso Fernandes Coronel, whom he besieged all the winter in his castle of Aguilar,

A.D. 1351.

Becomes enamoured of Donna Maria de Padilla, which proves the ruin of his affairs.

A.D. 1352.

Esposes Donna Blanca, daughter to a duke of Bourbon, sends her to prison.

¹ Histoire de Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro primero, &c.

* Mariana Historia General de España, lib. xvi. c. 18. Rainald. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

took the place by storm, in the beginning of the spring, and put that nobleman and many of his relations to death¹. In the month of February, Donna Blanca arrived in Spain, and was received by the queen dowager Donna Maria, and by the queen Donna Leonora, the king's aunt^m. Don Juan de Albuquerque was at that time in Portugal, but returned upon the first news of it to court; and finding that the kindred of Donna Maria de Padilla began to supplant him in the king's good graces, he applied himself with all imaginable diligence, to persuade the king to go and consummate his marriage with Donna Blanca at Valladolid, in which scheme he found more difficulty than he expected. But the relations of Donna Maria de Padilla prevailed upon him more easily to receive his brethren Don Henry and Don Tello into his favour, though each of them came attended with such a number of armed followers, as left them no reason to fear any thing from his displeasure. But as they gave out that they were not afraid of him, but of Don Juan de Albuquerque, he received this excuse, and behaved towards them very

A.D. 1353.

kindlyⁿ. At length, with much persuasion, he went to Valladolid, and in the presence of the two queens, and of all the princes of the royal blood, he espoused Donna Blanca, but left her abruptly next day, to return to his mistress. Don Juan de Albuquerque retired in discontent from court, and refused to go towards Toledo, as the king directed. As soon as Don Pedro was informed of this refusal, he quitted that city, and returned to Valladolid, where he staid two days with the three queens, and this was the last time he saw his consort Donna Blanca^o. He proceeded from thence to Olmedo, to his mistress, and sent for Don Juan de Albuquerque thither, under pretence of a reconciliation; but, in reality, with a design to cut him off with his principal adherents. Donna Maria de Padilla, having some connections with these lords, gave them notice of the king's design, upon which, not without danger and difficulty, they retired into Portugal. The king was no sooner informed of their retreat, than he shut up his queen Donna Blanca in prison, married his brother Don Tello to Donna Joanna de Lara, the heiress of that family, and removed from all their employments the creatures of Don Juan de Albuquerque^p.

¹ Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Fed. Lopez de Ayala. ^m Rod. Santii, Hist. Hispan. ⁿ Chron. del Don Pedro de Castilla. Ferreras.

^o Ferreras. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. ^p Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Fed. Lopez de Ayala. Mariana.

Thus,

Thus, for the present, the court of Castile received quite a new face.

Though Don Juan Nunez de Prada, grand-master of the order of Calatrava, had retired into Arragon, the king wrote to him in the strongest terms, assuring him he had nothing to fear, upon which that lord returned into Castile. On his arrival at Almagro, the king caused him to be seized, and ordered him to renounce his dignity; then compelled the knights to elect Don Diego de Padilla, brother of his mistress: but understanding that the knights were not mighty well satisfied with the renunciation, he, to prevent their restoring the old grand-master, directed him to be murdered; one of the foulest actions of his whole reign. He next took it into his head to make his addresses to Donna Joanna Fernandes de Castro, the widow of Don Diego de Haro; and finding no other way to gratify his desires, he prevailed upon two of his bishops to declare his former marriage null, and then married Donna Joanna publicly. He left her, however, almost as soon as he had abandoned his former queen; and understanding that his two brothers had entered into a league with Don Juan de Albuquerque, he married Donna Isabella, younger sister to Donna Joanna de Lara, to Don Juan of Arragon, and declared him lord of Biscay, in prejudice to his brother Don Tello, who had married the eldest sister. He ordered Donna Blanca to be removed to Toledo, where, having humbly desired leave to perform her devotions in the cathedral, she refused to come out of it, and by a very moving speech induced the inhabitants to revolt in her favour. Don Henry, count de Trastamara, with the rest of the confederates, repaired thither, and began to take the best measures they were able for reducing the king to reason, in which they were not a little disappointed by the death of Don Juan de Albuquerque, who was poisoned by an Italian physician. Their party, however, by degrees, became so strong, that the king found himself obliged to come to them to Toro, where he consented to all that they asked, and dissembled with such address, that he deceived not only them, but the pope's legate; but having, in the mean time, by a secret treaty, detached some of the members of the league, he took the advantage of a thick fog, and withdrawing out of their hands, retired to Segovia; a circumstance that

Causes himself to be divorced, marries Donna Joanna Fernandes de Castro, and leaves her.

A.D. 1354.

¶ Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Ferreras.
 ¶ Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala. Ferreras.

The city of Toledo, which had declared for queen Blanca, reduced by the king.

alarmed those he left behind, who knew his implacable and sanguinary temper.

The princes who remained firm in the confederacy, were the king's three brothers, Don Henry count of Trastamara, the grand-master Don Frederick, and Don Tello, lord of Biscay, in right of his wife, with Don Ferdinand de Castro, brother to the lady whom the king had abused, under pretence of marriage, and who had himself espoused the sister of those princes. But the infants of Arragon, who were likewise of this league, now followed the king; who having artfully drawn from the states at Burgos considerable supplies, took the field with a good army, and upon various pretences cut off several great lords, whom he suspected. At length he made an attempt upon Toro, where the queen his mother was under the protection of the count Don Henry, by whose valour and prudence the king's army was repulsed^u. Don Pedro, disappointed and provoked, marched with all possible diligence towards Toledo, sending word before him, that, yielding to the prayers of his people, he resolved to live with the queen Donna Blanca. The count Don Henry marched thither also, with such expedition, that he got into the city; yet the greater part of the inhabitants, confiding in the king's promises, received the king's troops; and the count finding himself obliged to retire, took his measures with such address, that having seized and plundered the king's camp, he returned with credit to Talavera^w. The king no sooner found himself master of the place, than he sent the queen Donna Blanca prisoner to Sigüenza, caused several noblemen to be beheaded, and twenty-two of the principal inhabitants to be hanged. Amongst other severities, he thought fit to imprison the bishop of Sigüenza; a circumstance which so irritated the pope, that he sent word to his legate to excommunicate him, and put all the places in his obedience under an interdict. Don Pedro, notwithstanding, made another attempt upon Toro; and, after all that had passed, amused the cardinal legate with such fair promises, that he absolved him from the excommunication, and took off the interdict; but being quickly undeceived, he had recourse to these ecclesiastical thunders again^x.

The king having reduced his mother, and those who adhered to her in Toro, to great extremities, and having

^u Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.
^w Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala. ^x Raimald. Mariana. Ferreras.

found means to draw off his brother the grand-master Don Frederick, became at length master of the place; the queen dowager Donna Maria retiring to the Alcazal, with Donna Joanna, the wife of Don Henry count de Trastamara, and most of the nobility repaired thither likewise. As the place could not hold out long, she sent in the most humble manner to her son, to desire he would promise life to her, and those who were with her; which request he refused, and they were compelled to surrender at discretion. They were no sooner in the king's power, than he ordered most of the nobility to be put to death in the presence of the queen-dowager, who fainting at so barbarous a spectacle, was carried back senseless to the palace^y. Amongst so many acts of cruelty, he exhibited one instance of generosity: there was in the place one Martin Abarca, a nobleman of Arragon, to whom the king Don Alonso had committed the care of Don Juan, a son of his by Leonora de Guzman. He sent to the king from the place where he was concealed, and desired him to spare the life of Don Juan, and of himself. The king answered, that if he produced Don Juan immediately, that prince should be saved; but that his own death was a thing settled. The generous old man brought his pupil instantly to the king, to whom, having recommended him in the most pathetic manner, he offered himself to die; upon which the king told him that it was his intention he should live and enjoy his favour^z. He thought fit, however, to proscribè his brothers, Don Frederick and Don Tello, and some attempts were made to assassinate them; but people were become now so much afraid of him, and trusted so little to his promises, that he was not able to accomplish his bloody purposes so easily as he had formerly done. He gave Don Henry count de Trastamara leave to retire to France, but posted murderers upon the roads through which he was to pass. However that prince being well accompanied, retired safely, though not without difficulty, out of his dominions. This year a war broke out between him and Don Pedro of Arragon, about a dispute at sea, which had very bad consequences^a (A).

A.D. 1355.
Makes him-
self master
of Toro,
and of the
person of
the queen-
mother and
her adhe-
rents.

A.D. 1356.

^y Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala. Mariana, Mayenne, Turquet. ^z Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. Ferreras. ^a Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Mariana, Ferreras.

(A) The king, Don Pedro, Mary's, was amusing himself having embarked at Port St. with the sight of his subjects fishing

*The wife of
Don Henry
rescued and
carried to
her hus-
band, by
Pedro de
Carillo.*

The war with Arragon brought back the count of Trastámara into that prince's dominions, who employed him in his service, and gave him considerable appointments. Don Pedro of Castile, however, gained some advantages this campaign, and might have obtained greater, if he had not laboured to thwart the views of his two generals Don Juan de la Cerda and Don Alvaro Pérez de Guzman; usage which induced them to revolt; when the latter, being defeated and taken, the king caused him to be presently put to death. The pope's legate obtained a truce, which the king of Castile speedily broke; and, as if he had been afraid to leave a single good action upon record, finding Martin Abarca, whom he had suffered to return home in one of the places he took, he caused him to be put to death^a. His brother Don Henry, being under continual apprehensions that he would destroy his wife Donna Joanna Emanuel, whom he had taken at Toro, one Pedro Carillo, who had been long in his service, and unable to bear his master's passionate complaints, left him, and went

^a Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala. Rainald. Ferreiras.

fishing for tunnies, when a squadron of ten galleys belonging to the king of Arragon, commanded by Don Francisco Carrillos, came upon the coast, and took two vessels under Pisan colours, but freighted by the Genoese with oil for Alexandria. As this was done in the very sight of the king, he sent two persons of distinction to let Don Francisco know, that those vessels were under his protection at the time they were taken, and that therefore he expected they should be discharged. Don Francisco answered, that, his master being at war with the Genoese, he took them to be good prizes, and therefore sold them without delay. Don Pedro, upon this, seized the effects of the Catalan merchants at Seville, by way of satisfaction. He sent also an ambassador to the king of Arragon, to demand that

Don Francisco should be put to death, or sent prisoner into Castile. The king of Arragon answered very mildly, that he disapproved his admiral's conduct, and that he would call him to an account for it upon his return. The ambassador of Castile, who, probably, had secret instructions, replied, that his master would take a proper satisfaction by force of arms. The monarch of Arragon told him, in return, that he saw no ground for a breach between the two crowns; but that, if he was attacked, he would repel force by force, and trust the decision of the cause to the supreme Being, who is the sovereign distributor of justice. Upon these grounds the war began, which Mariana describes as bringing desolation and destruction on both kingdoms.

to the king. He told that prince that he had been extremely ill used by the count ; that he was well acquainted with many others, who had personal resentments against him ; and that if he would give him leave to raise a troop of these, he would put his brother into his hands, either dead or alive. The king accepted the proposition with joy ; upon which Pedro Carillo assembled at his expence a strong body of horse, composed of gentlemen well affected to his master, with which entering Toro suddenly, he took Donna Joanna out of prison, and carried her safe to her lord. Don Ferdinand, infant of Arragon, about the same time reconciled himself to his brother^b, so that Don Pedro had various causes of chagrin.

A.D. 1357.

As nothing irritated this prince so much as the escape of those whom he had destined to destruction ; so having still about him Don Juan of Arragon, the brother of Don Ferdinand, and his own two brothers Don Frederick and Don Tello, he resolved to dispatch them all by degrees, and to make use of them in dispatching each other. He determined to begin with his brother Don Frederick, the grand-master, and signified his intention to the infant Don Juan of Arragon ; whom, in consideration of his assisting his designs, he promised to make lord of Biscay. His brother was slain in his presence, on the 27th of May, in the hall of his palace at Seville, and he afterwards dined in the very room, before the body was removed. He directed also several other lords to be killed that same day ; and afterwards set out with his cousin Don Juan of Arragon for the castle of Aguilar, where he determined to treat his brother Don Tello in the same manner ; nor was he a little chagrined at finding he has withdrawn : however, he secured his wife, and, to shew how much he was in earnest in this pursuit, understanding that his brother had fled by sea, he went on board a ship, in order to follow him, but a storm obliged him quickly to return. He then proceeded in his journey to Biscay, and carried his cousin Don Juan with him, who, having acted in all things as the creature of his will, pressed him to perform his promise of making him lord of that country. The king gave him to understand that it was necessary to assemble the states of that country for that purpose ; which step being taken, they resolved, according to the instructions they had received, that they would never have

The king causes his brother, Don Frederick, and his cousin, Don Juan de Arragon, to be murdered.

^b Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

any other lord than the king himself. Don Pedro sent intelligence of this resolution to his cousin, and assured him that he was very sorry for this disappointment. Don Juan understood him too well to pay any respect to this message, and therefore retired from court; yet he suffered himself to be deceived by a second, in which he gave him to understand, that he would endeavour to persuade the states to admit of his renunciation in his favour. Don Juan went to meet the king at Bilboa, where having entered the audience chamber, and paid his respects to him, a person behind knocked him down, while those about him stabbed him in many places; some say the king gave him his mortal wound with a javelin. However this might be, the body was presently thrown out of a window, from whence the king looked out and insulted it, in the hearing of the people^c. His aunt queen Leonora, and the wife of Don Tello, he shut up in prison, seizing upon all they had; but in the mean time his brother the count Don Henry, with the army of Arragon, took several places upon the frontiers, while the king, in order to revenge himself, caused a potent fleet to be equipped at Seville, to ravage the coasts.

A.D. 1358.

*Poisons his
aunt Don-
na Leonora
and the wi-
dow of Don
Juan.*

At the opening of the ensuing year, the pope sent a legate into Spain, to accommodate these differences between the kings of Castile and Arragon. Don Pedro received that prelate with all the marks of deference and respect imaginable; complained of the exceeding ill usage he had met with from the king his neighbour; notwithstanding which, out of pure regard to his holiness, he was ready to make peace upon the most moderate terms; such as, that the king of Arragon should deliver up to him Don Francisco Perellos, with whom he had reason to be offended; should banish his brother and all the Castilians in his service; should restore Alicant, Orihuela, and other places that formerly belonged to Castile, and pay him half a million of pieces of gold for the expences of the war. The cardinal reported these terms to the king of Arragon, and laboured to soften their resentments against each other, but to very little purpose^d. As soon as the fleet at Seville was ready, Don Pedro, to shew how much he was inclined to peace, proclaimed Don Ferdinand, infant of Arragon, Don Henry count of Trastamara, and their adherents, traitors: that his resentment might not seem

^c Marian. Ferreras.

^d Rainald. Zurit. Annal. Arragon.

to be confined to words only, he ordered his aunt, the queen dowager of Arragon, Donna Leonora, to be put to death, and caused Donna Isabella, the widow of the infant Don John of Arragon, to be poisoned. He went afterwards to spread desolation with his fleets on the coast of Catalonia; but while he was thus employed his brother, the count Don Henry, made an irruption into his territories, gained a complete victory, and killed his favourite Don Juan Fernandez Hinestrofa, uncle to Donna Maria de Padilla, who was this year brought to bed of her son Don Alonso^d, whom his father afterwards procured to be owned by the states for the lawful heir to the crown.

A D. 1359.

Don Pedro, though he could not repair the loss of the last battle, yet revenged it upon such of his subjects as were in the interests of his brethren, or suspected of being so. The examples he made in this way, so terrified the most considerable persons in his dominions, that many, merely out of fear, went and joined the count Don Henry, and others retired into Portugal. The king of that country gave them a good reception; but after having in vain endeavoured to reconcile his neighbours, at length took part with the king of Arragon. The king Don Pedro had a good army in the field, which gave him an opportunity of gratifying his resentment in many instances; but it happens fortunately for us, that the nature of this history does not oblige us to give an exact catalogue of his murders. We are, however, compelled to take notice, that in his march towards Najara, where his brother the count Don Henry was with his army, a priest very earnestly desired audience of him, which, when he had obtained, he told him that St. Dominic had commanded him in his sleep to admonish him to beware of his brother Don Henry, by whose hands he should certainly fall. The king was at first a little surprised; but having recollected himself, ordered the priest to be burnt alive. Soon after this transaction, the king lost the opportunity of reducing his brother, who had shut himself up in Najara, when it was actually in his power^e. Towards the close of the year, he entered into a negotiation with the king of Portugal, whom he secretly advised, that as the persons who had taken shelter in his dominions were men who had

Other instances of the king's barbarous, vindictive, and avaricious temper.

^d Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala. Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet. ^e Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala. Mariana.

given him great offence, he would, upon putting them into his power, deliver up those who had taken refuge in Castile, for putting to death Agnes de Castro, the king of Portugal's wife, in his father's life-time, and by his orders. This proposal was soon accepted, and punctually performed on both sides; in consequence of which, most dismal slaughters ensued: amongst these was Samuel Levi, a Jew, who had been his treasurer during the whole reign of Don Pedro. It does not appear that he suffered for any other crime than that of being rich; and that the king might have an opportunity of possessing himself of about one hundred and sixty thousand pistoles in gold, and upwards of four millions in silver. It is probable he would have obtained still more, if, in the midst of those tortures, employed to force from him a discovery, this miserable man had not died sooner than Don Pedro expected ^f.

A D. 1360.

Puts the queen Donna Blanca to death, and aims at assassinating Don Henry.

Mohammed Barbarossa, who had raised himself to the throne of Granada, having, in consequence of a league made with the king of Arragon, invaded the territories of Castile, Don Pedro, whose passions made him frequently take sudden and strange resolutions, concluded, by the interposition of the pope's legate, a peace with the king of Arragon, that he might be at liberty to revenge himself upon the Moors of Granada. About this time, the king, from what particular motive does not appear, ordered his beautiful, but unfortunate wife, Donna Blanca, to be put to death, in the fortress of Xerez, where she had been long confined (B). The governor excused himself

^f Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. *Chronica General de Hispana*. Ferreras.

(B) We are told by some historians, that the murder of the unhappy queen was the fruits of another extraordinary adventure. The king, Don Pedro, being one day hunting, a rustic, who made a most rueful appearance, came up to him, and admonished him to desist from persecuting so religious and virtuous a princess, and live with her as he ought to do, if he meant to escape the heavy vengeance of God. Upon this

the king ordered the man to be seized, and thrown into a dungeon, while some of his creatures were ordered to make a strict enquiry, whether the queen had not some hand in sending this messenger; but being satisfied that this conjecture was groundless, he ordered the peasant to be set at liberty; whether from his imprisonment only, or from all the miseries of this life, is not very clear, for it is asserted that the man was never seen afterwards:

self from obeying the order; but the king soon sent another person who fulfilled his intentions, as some say, by poison^a. In the mean time, Don Henry, count de Trastamara, and his associates, found themselves constrained to retire once more into France; a step which they took with the less regret, because they discovered that the king of Arragon had actually been taking measures to raise his brother the infant Don Ferdinand to the throne of Castile, who, for that important service, was to make him a cession of the kingdom of Murcia. This treaty, however, was not extremely well performed on either side; but as hostilities ceased, Don Pedro of Castile made the use he intended of it, and engaged in a war with the Moors of Granada, which was managed with indifferent success. This year, and but a small time after the queen, deceased Donna Maria de Padilla, leaving a son, Don Alonso, and three daughters, Donna Beatrix, Donna Constantia, and Donna Isabella, by the king Don Pedro, who is said to have expressed great sorrow for her death^b. But his subjects were far from looking upon this event as a calamity.

A.D. 1361.

In the month of January, the king of Castile ordered the grand-master of Calatrava, accompanied by Don Henry Henriquez, and some other old officers, with one thousand horse, and two thousand foot, to surprise Cadiz, which, though a place of so great importance to the king of Granada, was, according to his intelligence, but indifferently guarded. Artifices of this kind were familiar to the Moors; the army of Castile advanced near the place without discovering an enemy; a small party was detached to the very suburbs of the city to gain intelligence, a more considerable body followed to support

His forces defeated by the Moors before the town of Cadiz, with great loss.

^a Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala. ^b Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala. Chron de los Moros de Hispana. Ferreras.

terwards: he judged from hence that his ill usage of the queen, having raised her many friends, and him as many enemies, the most effectual method to prevent any future attempts in her favour was to remove her out of the world; and, having entrusted a physician with this commission, he went to the place

where she was confined, and dispatched her with a dose of poison. The Spanish historians seem to make a point of rendering that justice to the queen which her husband refused her: they represent her as the best princess that ever sat upon the Spanish throne.

them ; the first saw no troops, the latter retired from an apprehension of an ambuscade, without being pursued. The Christian generals concluded the city to be defenceless and secure, upon which, they sent off detachments to plunder the country on every side. As soon as those detachments were at a considerable distance, a small detachment of Moorish horse came out of the city, and skirmished with the like number of Christians, who passed the bridge for that purpose. By degrees the Moors grew stronger, the remains of the army under the command of the generals, were obliged to engage to bring off their friends. It was then that they saw their ruin plainly, a great body of Moors having passed the river, attacked them in the rear, and the Christians being surrounded, were very speedily defeated, the grand-master, Don Henry, and most of the chief commanders were taken prisoners. Guilt is never secure : Mohammed Barbarossa had usurped the crown of Granada from his master, who, to save his life, had retired to Ronda, and therefore this victory, was productive of alarm instead of joy. He knew that the king of Castile was equally impetuous and obstinate ; he was sensible he had provoked him, and he was conscious of his superiority. He acted, however, very prudently in this critical situation ; he understood that the grand-master and Don Henry were the king's principal favourites ; he set them at liberty without ransom, he sent by them magnificent presents to Don Pedro, and desired them to mediate a peace.

Mohammed Barbarossa, king of Granada, murdered by Don Pedro of Castile.

All this, however, had no effect ; Don Pedro carried on the war with such vigour, that at length Mohammed Barbarossa resolved to go in person to Seville, and submit to a prince, whom he found it not in his power to resist. He demanded and received a safe conduct for this purpose, and then executed his design. Don Pedro received him with all the kindness and affability imaginable, and ordered one of the principal lords of his court to make a great feast for his new vassal. But being informed that Mohammed had brought with him great treasures, and that those who attended him had very rich jewels, he caused them to be seized at that feast ; and having mounted the king of Granada upon an ass, sent them out into the most public place with a herald, proclaiming before them, that the king of Castile had condemned them to be put to death, as traitors against their lawful sovereign. Some say that Don Pedro with his own hands gave the king of Granada a mortal wound, and afterwards cut

cut

cut off his headⁱ. However that may be, it is universally confessed, that this unfortunate monarch, with thirty-seven of the principal persons in his court, were there slain, in breach of public faith, and spoiled of all their wealth. The head of Mohammed Barbarossa being fixed upon a pole, he sent it to Mohammed Yago, at Ronda, advising him to go back to Granada, and resume the government, which he accordingly did; the Moors being so terrified at this action, that they received him without hesitation^k.

The king of Castile soon after called an assembly of the states at Seville, where he declared to them that he was lawfully married to Donna Maria de Padilla, before he espoused any other woman, in the presence of four witnesses, of whom her uncle Hinestroza was deceased, but the rest were living, whom he accordingly produced. These were the grand-master of Calatrava, Donna Maria's brother, his own chancellor, and his own chaplain, who swore what the king had said was true; upon which Don Alonso was acknowledged for the king's successor, and his three sisters in case of his demise, according to the ordinary rules of succession^l. He proceeded from thence to Soria, where he had solicited Don Carlos, king of Navarre, to meet him. Don Pedro entertained that prince, not only with all the splendour and magnificence, but with all the kindness and respect imaginable. One day, however, after dinner, Don Pedro took the king of Navarre aside, and told him, that having revenged himself on the king of Granada, for hindering that vengeance he would otherwise have taken of the king of Arragon, he found himself now at liberty to chastise that monarch to the utmost, in which he hoped he would not refuse him his assistance. Instead of observing that the peace still continued, or that himself had no quarrel against that king, Don Carlos approved of all, and promised his concurrence; the fate of the king of Granada was fresh in his mind, and the sight of the king of Castile's troops, of whom the town was full, would not suffer him to recollect any scruples, so that they parted very good friends^m. The war began the same year, and being made by surprise, Don Pedro of Castile gained some considerable ad-

*Obliges the
states to ac-
knowledge
his children
by Donna
Maria de
Padilla
heirs to the
crown.*

A.D. 1362.

ⁱ Chron. del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

^k Chronica de los Moros de Hispana. Mariana. Mayerne, Turquet.

^l Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala.

^m Histoire de Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla.

vantages ; the king of Arragon, on the other hand, recalled the count of Trastamara, and the followers of his fortuneⁿ. On the 8th of October died Don Alonso, whom his father Don Pedro had declared his successor, upon which that monarch made his will, under an apprehension that his grief might cost him his life^o ; but at the same time he made all imaginable preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. He not only pressed the kings of Portugal, Granada, and Navarre, to send troops and ships to his assistance, but entered likewise into an alliance with Edward the Third, of England, the terms of which were settled with his son Edward the Black Prince^p.

The infant Don Ferdinand of Arragon cruelly murdered by his brother.

The king of Arragon, though he paid great respect to Don Henry, count of Trastamara, yet he secretly revived his design of raising his brother, the infant Don Ferdinand, to the throne of Castile ; which coming to take air, most of the exiles quitted the count Don Henry, and adhered to the infant ; and amongst these deserters were his own brethren, a circumstance which occasioned no little discord. It is not at all unlikely, that this scheme was divulged in order to promote a peace. Don Pedro, through the pope's legate, expressed himself not averse to it ; and the plan, upon which he offered to treat, was this : he was willing to espouse Donna Joanna, the king of Arragon's daughter, and to give his own daughter, Donna Beatrix, to the infant Don Juan, son and heir of the king of Arragon ; but previous to these measures and some others, he expected that the king of Arragon should oblige him so far as to put his own brother, together with three or four of his brethren, who were at the court of Arragon, to death, without delay^q. At this proposition, that monarch did not much hesitate, though it may be doubted whether he was in earnest or not ; however, his brother Don Ferdinand being exceedingly alarmed, excited a mutiny among the Castilians who were about him, and Don Henry, count of Trastamara, desired leave to retire into France. In this confusion, the king of Arragon ordered his brother, the infant Don Ferdinand, to be arrested, who, resenting this usage, and endeavouring to defend himself, was slain. In the midst of these troubles, Don Pedro had a son born by one of his mistresses, whom,

ⁿ Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Ferreras
Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala.

^o Chronica del Rey
P Barnes's Life of Edward III.
^q Rainald. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala.

upon this event, he determined to marry, and therefore broke off the treaty ^r.

All the Castilians who were in exile, uniting with zeal, under the count Don Henry, in whom lay all their hopes, the king of Arragon was forced to treat him with much respect. At the same time, advancing towards the frontiers of his dominions, he had a private interview with the king of Navarre, who had hitherto acted in favour of Castile from constraint. They agreed to set up the count Don Henry, and pull down his brother; but, at the same time, resolved that the king of Navarre should have Biscay and Castile for his share, the king of Arragon the realms of Murcia and Toledo, and that count Henry might keep the rest if he could ^s. In order to bring this fine project to bear, a new interview was appointed at the castle of Sos, on the frontiers of Navarre, to which the count Don Henry was invited, in order to communicate to him so much of their scheme as might induce him to assist in the execution of it. The count consented to the interview, but upon condition that the castle should be put into the hands of Don Juan Ramirez de Arellano, as not caring to trust himself to the good faith of those monarchs. Don Juan was accordingly put into possession of the place, which he garrisoned with his own vassals, and then the two kings and the count Don Henry repaired thither, with a very few domestics ^t. While the conference lasted, the monarchs of Arragon and Navarre proposed to Don Juan, to massacre the count Don Henry and all his forces, a proposal, which that nobleman rejected with equal firmness and contempt; so that, in the end, they found it their interest to treat the count of Trastamara on the footing of an equal, and as a prince whom they meant to assist in becoming king of Castile. That prince disco-

Confederacy between the kings of Arragon, Navarre, and the count Don Henry.

vering soon after the plots that had been formed against him, took a sudden resolution to quit Spain; but the king of Arragon, with some difficulty, pacified him, and made a new treaty, to the performance of which both parties swore, in the presence of the archbishop of Tarragona ^u. But it was, notwithstanding, but indifferently kept.

A.D. 1367.

The next year was full of events of the same kind, and of treasons and murders; which, relating more particularly to the affairs of Arragon, belong to another place.

An army brought out of France by Bertrand du Guesclin, and others.

^r Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Rainald. Royaume de Navarre. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Ferreras Mayerne, Turquet. Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala.

^s Hist. du Mariana.

^t Chronica del Rey Don

We must, however, take notice, that Don Tello betrayed his brother and the king of Arragon to the king of Castile, who still carried on the war with great vigour and success, both by land and sea^w. As the king of Arragon saw clearly, that, in the course of this war, he was in great danger of losing his dominions, or at least a great part of them, unless the scheme of deposing Don Pedro of Castile should actually take effect, he began next year to turn his thoughts that way in earnest, and Providence furnished the means of chastizing that barbarous prince. There were at that time in France upwards of twenty-thousand veteran troops, who had served against the English, and, from being the defenders, were now become the terrors of that country. These, by the assistance of the king of Arragon, the count Don Henry took into his pay. Under the command of the famous Bertrand du Guesclin, and John de Bourbon, count de la Marche, they began their march for Catalonia, and brought with them likewise some of their old enemies, the English, under several officers of note; for their common wants had made them very good friends, and their business in Spain was to get money^x.

A.D. 1364.

A.D. 1365.

*The count
Don Henry
advances
to Calahorra,
and is
proclaimed
king of
Castile.*

These forces were no sooner arrived and reviewed, than Don Henry, count of Trastamara, entered Castile, and summoned the town of Calahorra, which immediately opened its gates. There, by the advice of Bertrand du Guesclin, he caused himself to be proclaimed king, and then began his march directly towards Burgos, where his brother Don Pedro then was^y. The nobility and people solicited that prince, who had a numerous army, not to stir, assuring him of their fidelity; but he told them that he knew his brother's inclinations and their's better, and would therefore march to Seville, in order to secure his children and his treasures. The count Don Henry meeting with little opposition, arrived at Burgos, where, finding most of the nobility of Castile, they readily accepted him for their king, and he was solemnly inaugurated^z. One of Don Pedro's creatures, to save his life, discovered an immense treasure in gold; and the Jews, who were ever in danger in such cases, made him a present of a vast sum of money. Henry, who had hitherto known little but

^w Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chron. Var. Antiq.

Daniel Histoire de France. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Mariana. Ferreras
Henrique Segundo de Ped. Lopez de Ayala.
Rey Don Pedro.

^x P. Daniel
^y Chronica del Rey Don
^z Chronica del

danger and distress, and who perhaps was made wise by his brother's misfortunes, resolved, by the actions of one day, to secure the crown to himself and his descendants. His politics were not deep or refined, but they were very sensible and solid. He had, in the day of his calamity, made many promises, which had been taken in current payment by those who had advanced him to the throne; he thought it would contribute to keep him firmly settled thereon, if he performed them punctually; and this he did the very day he was crowned king. The count de Ribagorce, who had married the heiress of Don Juan Emanuel, had all the estates of that family, with the title of marquis of Villena; to Bertrand du Guesclin he gave the lordship of Molina, and his own county of Traстамara to his brother Don Tello; the lordship of Biscay to another brother of his, Don Sancho Albuquerque and Le Desma; and, in short, to all who had rendered him service, he gave, if not to the value of their services, yet beyond their expectations^b.

Don Lopez de Luna, archbishop of Saragossa, upon the king's letter, conveyed the queen and her children to Burgos^c. Soon after their arrival, the king marched towards Toledo, which opened its gates on his approach; while Don Pedro, who the year before had concluded a marriage for his daughter Donna Beatrix, with the infant of Portugal, sent her thither with a vast fortune in ready money; and, having embarked his treasures on board his fleet, quitted Seville with his army, which he still commanded in person, and marched into Galicia^d. Don Gilles de Bocanegro fitted out a small squadron, and seized the ship in which the king's treasures were, which fell into the hands of his brother Henry, and amounted to thirty-six quintals of gold, and a prodigious quantity of jewels, which he had been amassing all his reign^e. Don Pedro changing his intentions, proceeded to the frontiers of Portugal, and gave notice of his arrival to the king, who sent him word, that he could not prevail upon his son to marry his daughter, whom he therefore thought fit to restore with all her fortune; he went next to Albuquerque, where he proposed to leave his children: the inhabitants prevented that step by shutting their gates against him; this refusal obliged him to demand a safe conduct

*The king
Don Pedro
retires into
Portugal,
and from
thence into
Guienne.*

^b Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

^c Mariana,

Mayerne, Turquet.

^d Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. Bran-

daon.

^e Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

through Portugal, into Galicia, where the people received him very cheerfully, through the persuasion of the archbishop of Compostella, whom he rewarded very strangely; for, understanding that he was immensely rich, he murdered him, and seized all that he had^a: then leaving the government of Galicia to Don Ferdinand de Castro, he marched to Corunna, and embarked his troops on board his fleet, with which he sailed to Bayonne, in order to demand assistance from the prince of Wales. The king, Don Henry, after having received the submission of all Andalusia, marched with an army into Galicia; and having fully satisfied his mercenaries, dismissed them, reserving only the forces of the count de la Marche, those of Bertrand du Guesclin, of Hugh Corbelay, whose English name, for he was an Englishman, was Sir Hugh Calverly, and some others^b. Don Ferdinand de Castro shut himself up in Lugo, with a good garrison, which the king besieged; thinking his presence, however, necessary in Castile, he made an agreement with Don Ferdinand, that he should surrender all the places he held, if he was not relieved by Don Pedro before Christmas, in consideration of which he would bestow on him the lordship of Castro de Xerez, with the title of count, because it had belonged formerly to his ancestors. On the king's arrival at Burgos, he summoned an assembly of the states, who very cheerfully gave him all that he could ask, for the defence of himself and his dominions^c.

A.D. 1366.

*Edward
prince of
Wales, sur-
named the
Black
Prince, un-
dertakes to
restore him.*

The king, Don Pedro, who in his passage had touched at St. Sebastians, and received on board thirty-six thousand pistoles in gold, which he had there, brought so much wealth into Guienne, that he was extremely welcome to the Black Prince, and to all the great lords of that country, who very readily offered him their services, in consideration of his money^d. After mature deliberation, it was resolved that the prince should go in person, with a numerous body of his victorious troops, to restore him to his dominions; which troops the king was to pay, and to bestow upon the prince the province of Biscay, and some other places. The constable of Guienne was to have the town of Soria and its district; and the king of Navarre, in consideration of granting a passage through his country, was to have the fortress of Alfaro, and all the country as

^a Brandegee. *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro*. Ferreras. *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo*.

^b *Chronica General de Hispana*. ^c Barnes's *Hist. of Edward III*. *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro*.

far as Navarette; for the just performance of these promises, the king gave his children as hostages¹. It was not long before king Henry obtained a pretty good account of these transactions, upon which he invited the king of Navarre to an interview, in which, having taken great pains to shew him his own interests, and how easily he might prevent Don Pedro and the prince of Wales from passing through his country, concluded with him a treaty for that purpose, to the due performance of which both kings were sworn, in the presence of the archbishops of Toledo and Saragossa; king Henry promising him Logrono, and giving him sixty thousand pistoles in gold². Don Pedro having notice of this treaty, offered him, not only the place before mentioned, but Victoria also.

The king of Navarre concluded a treaty with him too; and, to shew what an able politician he was, when the English forces arrived upon his frontiers, he sent for Oliver de Mauny, who was cousin to Bertrand du Guesclin, and desired him to seize upon his person, as he was hunting, and carry him prisoner to a fort of which he was governor, for which service he offered him a sum of money, and the castle of Cherbourg in Normandy, which Oliver, who was a soldier of fortune, accepted; so that Don Pedro and the prince of Wales passed through Navarre without any opposition³. Such English as had hitherto served king Henry, left him upon the approach of the Black Prince; notwithstanding which defection, he resolved to give the enemy battle, contrary to the opinion of Bertrand du Guesclin, and the foreign officers, who assured him that the troops of the prince of Wales were invincible, while in full health and vigour; but that if he drew them farther into the country, and exposed them but for a few weeks to the rays of a Spanish sun, they would either retire of themselves, or fall an easy conquest. Don Henry, knowing that his brother had many partizans, and being diffident, even of some of the troops in his own army, resolved to venture a battle, which was accordingly fought on the sixth of April, between Najara and Navarette, where, through the fault of Don Tello, the king's brother, the left wing was quickly broke, a circumstance, which brought on a total rout, notwithstanding the king exposed himself extremely to prevent it⁴. The loss was

Dexterous management of the king of Navarre in deceiving both parties.

¹ Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro.

² Histoire de Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. Ferreras.

³ Chronica del Rey Don Pedro.

⁴ Mariana. Ferreras. Mayerne, Turquet.

very great; and, besides the numbers slain upon the spot, there were many persons of distinction taken prisoners. The king, Don Henry, made his escape with all possible diligence through Arragon, into France; his queen, with her children, went to Saragossa.

*The king
Don Pedro
seated a-
gain upon
the throne,
and again
endanger-
ed by his
vices.*

Don Pedro's natural cruelty shewed itself, not only in the usage of the prisoners taken by his troops, but in causing a gentleman to be put to death, who fell into the hands of an English lord. This incident produced an expostulation on the part of the prince of Wales, which, how much soever he disliked, he thought fit to dissembleⁿ. They proceeded together as far as Burgos, where the prince lodged in the monastery De las Huelgas, and his brother John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, in the convent of St. Dominic. The prince of Wales found it necessary for his own safety to conclude a truce between the crowns of Castile and Arragon, and a treaty for himself with the last mentioned crown and that of Portugal, by which he stipulated the reciprocal assistance of each power in the division of the states of Castile, in case Don Pedro should break his faith with them. Then taking leave of him, he returned to Guienne, moved thereto chiefly by a sickness that broke out in his army^o. Don Pedro, now left to himself, began to indulge, in a greater degree than ever, that thirst of blood which rendered him universally odious and terrible. At Burgos, Toledo, and Seville, some people of the first quality were put to death, and numbers of inferior rank. In this political inquisition, even women did not escape^p. The king, Don Henry, did not suffer his spirits to be sunk through his misfortunes; but, on the contrary, solicited the count de Foix, who, out of mere compassion, offered him a retreat in his country, the king of France by letters, and pope Urban the Fifth, who then resided at Avignon in person. He received from each of them more than he could demand or expect. The count gave him leave to raise forces in his territories, and allowed his son to command them. The pope received him kindly, freed him from all blemish of illegitimacy, and dismissed him from his presence as legal a monarch as he could, and as rich a one as it was convenient to make him^q. The king of France exceeded both; for he ordered his brother, the duke of Anjou, to

ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. Ferreras.

Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro.

rriana. Ferreras.

^o Brandaon. ^p Ma-
^q P. Daniel Histoire de France. Rainald.
Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

give him a large sum of money, made him a present of a strong fortress on the frontiers of Navarre, and allowed him to raise what troops he could. In virtue of these assistances, he assembled an army, with which he entered Castile, after having passed through Arragon, without the leave of that monarch, in the month of September, and, before the close of the year, was master of Castile and the kingdom of Toledo^r.

The generous manner in which he behaved towards such as assisted him in his former expedition, had induced all, who were not murdered or imprisoned, to put themselves in motion for his service. By the end of the month of April, he became master of the city of Leon, the best part of that kingdom, and a great part of Asturias^s. The city of Toledo, however, refused to acknowledge him, though their archbishop had accompanied him in his exile. The king, having in vain tried every method to persuade them, at length invested the city with a great army, being determined to reduce it by force^t. At this time, Don Pedro, with the very same intention, was before Cordova, with the king of Granada, who had brought six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot to his assistance, and they pushed this siege with so much vigour, that they became masters of a great part of the city by storm; yet the cries of the women, from the apprehensions of Don Pedro's cruelty, were so loud and piercing, that the sight of their sorrow banishing all sense of danger, the men returned with such fury to the charge, that they dispossessed the Moors of all the places they had taken, and threw the greatest part of them over the walls. Next day the two kings attacked them again, and were repulsed with loss, after which they raised the siege, and separated their forces^u. The people of Toledo, finding themselves exceedingly distressed, sent to Don Pedro for succours. Several towns on the frontiers of Navarre, having entered into an association for their own defence, and having a small body of regular troops, commanded by Don Tello, sent likewise to assure him of their fidelity, and to receive his orders, letting him know at the same time, that, on the one hand, they were pressed by the king of Navarre, and on the other, by Don Henry. Don Pedro returned

Besieges, in conjunction with the king of Granada, the city of Cordova without effect.

^r P. Daniel Histoire de France. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. ^s Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^t Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Ferreras. ^u Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. Chronica de los Moros de Espana.

them for answer, that he was preparing to relieve Toledo; but if, notwithstanding they found themselves obliged to yield, he chose they should do it to his brother, and not to the king of Navarre. Yet Don Tello prevailed on them to take the contrary course, and to submit to the king of Navarre. The king, Don Henry, in the camp before Toledo, created Don Bernard de Foix, the son of his friend, a count, and gave him the town of Medina Cæli, from whom the noble family, bearing afterwards the title of dukes of the same place, descended ^w.

*The king
Don Henry
marches to
give his
brother
Don Pedro
battle.*

A new war having broke out between the French and English, Charles the Fifth sent his ambassadors to the king, Don Henry, before Toledo, with whom he made a perpetual league for themselves, their heirs, and successors; and the French king, in virtue of his engagements, promised to send Bertrand du Guesclin, with six hundred lances to his assistance ^x. Don Pedro having drawn together all the troops he was able to assemble, in the neighbourhood of Seville, summoned his principally ally, the king of Granada, to send him fresh assistance, which he very readily did; and with these, and the forces of the kingdom of Murcia, he resolved to attempt the relief of Toledo. As soon as Don Henry had intelligence of this design, he left the archbishop with a sufficient corps of troops to invest the place; and with the flower of his nobility, and a well appointed army, marched to find out his brother. He looked on it as a good omen, that at the very time he took this resolution, Bertrand du Guesclin arrived with his six hundred lances that had been promised him from France ^y. On his march he was joined by the grand-master of St. James, with the forces he had brought out of Andalusia; and thus strengthened he advanced into the plains of Montiel. The country people making fires in the neighbourhood to give notice to Don Pedro, he surmised that these troops came to his assistance; but next morning, before it was day, his advanced guards brought him advice, that Don Henry was in full march with all his forces to give him battle.

*Don Pedro
defeated,
and afterwards
killed by his
brother*

*Don Henry
at Montiel.*

Don Pedro made the best disposition he could, and behaved very gallantly, but his troops never recovered the surprize they were in on the first attack, and were quickly

^w Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

^x P. Daniel

Histoire de France. Ferreras.

^y Chronica del Rey Don

Pedro. Chronica de los Moros de Hispana. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

routed. Don Pedro, with a small body of foot, threw himself into the castle of Montiel, while Don Martin Lopez de Cordova, with eight hundred horse, and a thousand cross-bows, retired into the strong fortrefs of Carmona, which the king had intended for his own retreat, and where he had left his children. This battle was fought on the 14th of March; and the king, Don Henry, having considered the place into which his brother had thrown himself, caused a line to be drawn round it, well fortified and well guarded. Don Pedro soon found the place not tenable against his brother's forces; besides, his garrison were in great want of provisions; he therefore applied himself to Bertrand du Guesclin, and promised him a large sum of money if he would suffer him to pass through his quarters. Bertrand having consulted his officers, discovered this offer to the king, Don Henry, and, at his request, assigned an hour when Don Pedro might come to his tent, where Don Henry, followed by some resolute persons, rushed in, and, having struck him first in the face with his dagger, the rest fell upon him and put him to death on the 23d of March, when he was thirty-five years and seven months old². This monarch was debauched, cruel, cunning, faithless, and covetous, in a supreme degree. After all the losses he had sustained, he left behind him at Seville, Almodava, and other places, no less than one hundred and fifty millions in gold and silver, besides jewels and plate to an immense value. Besides his children by Donna Maria de Padilla, he left a son Don Juan by Donna Johanna de Castro, and two other sons Don Sancho and Don Diego by Donna Isabella, who had been governess to his son Don Alonso. His two eldest daughters, at the time of his death, were hostages in Guienne, and the rest of his children in the castle of Carmona².

The king, Don Henry, was far from remaining peaceable possessor of his brother's dominions, by his death; but, upon his arrival at Seville, he acquired all his treasures, which put him into a condition of maintaining the war against all his enemies, though they invaded his dominions almost on every side. The first step he took was to offer good terms to Don Martin, who commanded in Carmona, which, when he rejected, he caused the place to be blocked up. The towns of Molina and Re-

The king of Portugal claims and assumes the title of king of Castile and Leon

² Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. Mariana. Ferreras. ² Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

quina declared for the king of Arragon. Ciudad Rodrigo, Le Desma, Alcantara, Zamora, Tuy, Corunna, the city of St. James, Lugo, Orenza, and many other places, acknowledged Don Ferdinand, king of Portugal, who immediately coined money, with the arms of his own crown on one side, and those of Castile on the other^c. The king of Granada likewise gave him a vast deal of trouble; and the king of Arragon entered into a league with the prince of Wales and duke of Lancaster, for facilitating the conquests he meditated in Castile: he likewise entered into another treaty with the king of Portugal, who, in support of his pretensions, invaded Galicia. On the other hand, Toledo having surrendered to the archbishop, and the queen and her children going thither, the king went to meet them. He had not been long there, before he received the news of the king of Portugal's invading Galicia with a numerous army, upon which he marched thither with the troops that were about his person, with such celerity, that the king, Don Ferdinand, who was unwilling to risk a battle at so great a distance from his own dominions, left his troops in Corunna, and returned home by sea. The king, Don Henry, was no sooner informed of this retreat, than he directed his march into Portugal, and having made himself master of the city of Braga, desolated all the country with fire and sword; upon which Don Ferdinand sent him a challenge, to which Don Henry answered, that if he came with an army, he knew where to find him; soon after which transaction, having executed all that he designed by this invasion, he distributed his troops into garrisons on the frontiers, and returned into Castile^d.

A.D. 1369.

*Don Henry
defends his
dominions
against the
kings of
Portugal
and Arra-
gon.*

At this juncture, the enemies of the king Don Henry were many, and the obstacles he had to overcome were great; but his notions of government were clear, his temper was moderate, and his application indefatigable. He had many things to attend; he suffered none of them to escape his notice; he kept his frontiers well guarded, Carmona and Zamora blocked up, and two or three flying armies in the field. In the assembly of the states at Medina del Canipo, he ballanced accounts with the officers of the foreign troops in his service, paid them their whole demands, and gave them considerable gratifications, telling

^c Brandaon. Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. Ferreras. Chronica de los Moros de Hispan. Brandaon. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Mariana. ^d Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

the states at the same time; "To these strangers we owe our present safety; it is but just, therefore, that we should afford them establishments; as for their posterity, they will be brave men, and Spaniards." The king of Granada had taken and razed Algezira, a circumstance which gave the king great concern. He ordered his generals to lay waste the open country, which was extremely well cultivated; and this step forced the Moors to demand a truce, which his resentment did not hinder him from granting, because it was convenient for his affairs^f. The Portuguese blocked up the river of Seville with a fleet; his admiral Ambrose Bocanegro broke through it, with seven stout gallies, having a large sum of money on board, with which he proceeded to Biscay. There he soon assembled a numerous squadron of large ships, well manned, with which he first defeated the Portuguese: then, by his master's orders, sailing to the assistance of the French monarch, he had the good fortune to defeat an English squadron, and to make the earl of Pembroke prisoner^g. His brother, the infant Don Tello, dying, he gave the lordship of Biscay to his own son, the infant Don Juan, and by that means annexed it for ever to the crown. On the frontiers of Arragon he kept a body of troops sufficient to defend his subjects, till his affairs were in such order as might enable him to recover what he had lost: thus by degrees, and the happy management of events, the prospect began to clear on every side, and the mildness of his administration made him beloved at home, while his prudence and vigour rendered him respected abroad.

A.D. 1370.

In the beginning of the year, the pope sent his legates into Spain, with letters directed to the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Portugal, to persuade them to a peace; and at the same time he wrote to the prelates of Toledo, Seville, Saragossa, and Coimbra, requiring them to give all the assistance in their power to this good work. Don Henry received them with great kindness and respect, but advised them not to lose time at his court, since he was already as well disposed in that respect as they could wish, upon which they departed for Portugal. In the mean time, the king went in person to the siege of Carmona, where, some say, his life was in great danger, from a sally made by the besieged. His guards, however, attempted

Becomes master of Carmona, and makes peace with the king of Portugal.

^e Chron. Gen. de Hispan. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. Mariana.
^f Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^g Brandeion.
P. Daniel Histoire de France.

the place by scaling, and about forty of them got into the town; but, before they could force their passage to a gate, were surrounded and taken prisoners, and some days after, the governor ordered them to be put to death^h. At length, famine and frequent losses compelled Don Martin to capitulate, when he offered to deliver up his master's treasures and children, provided he might be at liberty to retire where he pleased. The king added, he must likewise deliver up Don Pedro's chancellor, who had been the great instrument of his cruelties, to which condition he very readily agreedⁱ. The king sent the treasures and the children of Don Pedro to Toledo, and ordered the chancellor and the governor to be put to death. The latter insisted, that this was against public faith; but the king alleged the murder of the forty soldiers, which being likewise against public faith, left him, in the king's opinion, no title to it: a severe judgment, but a good example. Zamora, and all the country of Galicia, quickly submitted: the king of Portugal very wisely consented to a peace, and agreed to marry Donna Leonora, infanta of Castile, with a portion of three hundred thousand crowns: yet, soon after, falling in love with Donna Leonora Tellez, the wife of John Lawrence de Acunha, he sent ambassadors to the king of Castile, to excuse his declining the marriage; and, having caused the lady to be divorced from her husband, secretly made her his wife. The king of Castile told the ambassadors, that he could always find a match for his daughter, and that though he wished him for his son-in-law, he was very well content to esteem the king of Portugal his friend and ally^k. Towards the close of the year, at the request of the pope's legate, he concluded a truce with the crown of Navarre, and another with that of Arragon; and the face of peace being thus universally restored, he sent the infant Don Juan to take possession of Biscay.

A.D. 1371.

That monarch, notwithstanding, meditates new disorders.

As those who have done a great injury can seldom be brought to forgive sincerely those they have injured, so the king of Portugal, apprehending the resentment of Don Henry, entered into a treaty with John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who had married Donna Constantia, daughter to the king Don Pedro, invited him into his dominions, and promised to support his pretensions; upon which he assumed the title of king of Castile. In confidence, therefore, of receiving these succours in due time, he made

^h Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.
erne, Tuiquet.

^k Brandaon. Ferreras.

ⁱ Marian, May-

an irruption into Galicia, surprised Tuy, and some other places, which were speedily recovered by the king of Castile, who, when he once understood the bottom of the design, immediately undertook to cure the king of Portugal of a resolution to disturb him. In the first place, he sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of the French, that, by finding employment for the English nearer home, he might be in the less danger of being troubled with them in Portugal; and at the same time he charged his admiral with negotiating the repurchase of those lands, which he had given to Bertrand du Guesclin; for, as he was now become constable of France, it was not at all probable he should ever think of returning into Spain, which proposal was readily accepted; and, for the sum of two hundred and seventy thousand crowns in gold, the king recovered all the places he had formerly granted him¹.

While his fleet was thus employed, the king made an expedition into Portugal, and took several places; but, upon the application of the pope's legate, he consented to a short truce, and likewise renewed that with Arragon for eight months^m. The truce being expired, Don Henry, in the very depth of winter, made himself master of Viseo, and from thence advanced towards Coimbra; but being informed that Donna Leonora, queen of Portugal, had retired thither to lie in, he sent her a compliment, importing that her presence was an invincible garrison; upon which he moved towards the king of Portugal, who was encamped at Santaren; but finding that he would act only on the defensive, he proceeded to insult Lisbon, and, by the assistance of a squadron from Seville, he burnt part of the lower town, and some ships in the harbour. This progress gave such weight to the endeavours of the pope's legates for obtaining a peace, that at length the preliminaries were settled, by which the king of Portugal engaged, that whenever king Henry sent a squadron to the assistance of France, he would likewise send five ships or galleys; that Don Ferdinand de Castro, and the rest of the exiles from Castile, should be obliged to quit his dominions; that Don Sancho, the king of Castile's brother, should marry Donna Beatrix, sister to king Ferdinand; and that Don Alonso, the natural son of king Henry, should marry Donna Isabella, the natural daughter of king Ferdinand,

A D. 1373.

Don Henry compels both him and the king of Navarre once more to demand peace.

¹ P. Daniel Hist. de France. Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. Ferreras.
^m Chron. del Rey Ron Henrique Segundo. Rainald. Zurit Annal. Arragon.

when they were of competent age : in consideration of which articles, the king, Don Henry, was to restore all the places he had taken. This treaty the two kings signed and swore to, in the presence of the legates ; after which ratification, the first of the two marriages was celebrated, and Donna Isabella was put into the hands of the king of Castile ^a. A peace was some months afterwards concluded with the king of Navarre, who took advantage from thence to solicit the king of Castile to detach himself from France, and to make a league with the English ; a proposition which the king absolutely refused, notwithstanding that the duke of Lancaster offered, in that case, to accept of a sum of money in lieu of his pretensions ; to which, independent of the league, the king of Castile declared he had no objection : the truce with Arragon was also prolonged ; and thus the peace of his dominions being once again restored^o, he was enabled to put his affairs into such good order, that he had no reason to fear any of his neighbours.

A.D. 1373.

Concludes at length a sincere and solid peace with the king of Arragon.

The duke of Lancaster being extremely piqued at the refusal of the king of Castile to quit the party of the French, resolved to carry his threats into execution, and with this view levied forces, and entered into a treaty with the crown of Arragon. The king, Don Henry, assembled a great army in the neighbourhood of Burgos, where a quarrel happening amongst the soldiers on the 19th of March, his brother, Don Sancho, interposing, to prevent a mutiny, received a wound in his face with a lance, of which he died, leaving his wife, Donna Beatrix, with child of a daughter, named Donna Leonora, who was afterwards queen of Arragon ^p. The king was extremely afflicted, and, in the first transport of his passion, would have put to death all the soldiers that had any share in the quarrel ; but the nobility pacified him ; so that only a few of the most guilty were punished. He then sent to the king of Arragon, to put him in mind of their former friendship ; to press him to send his daughter Donna Leonora to espouse the infant Don Juan, prince of Castile, as they had been passionately in love with each other from their very childhood ; and to assure him, that he was content to give him any reasonable satisfaction in reference

^a Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. Brandaon. Faria y Soula.

^o Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Zurit.

Annal. Arragon. ^p Chronica del Rey Don Henrique

Segundo. Zurit. Annal Arragon.

to the disputes between them. The king of Arragon demanded, in a peremptory manner, the kingdom of Murcia. The king of Castile answered, that it was true he had promised him that kingdom for his assistance, but that this promise was made void by his entering into a treaty with the prince of Wales, and the share he had in deposing him; that nevertheless, he was unwilling to have recourse to arms, in order to recover those places which he had seized in times of public confusion. After much altercation a treaty was concluded, and signed by the two kings on the 12th of April, by which a perpetual peace was stipulated for themselves and successors, the time appointed for the marriage, and the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand pieces of gold fixed as an equivalent for the places which the king of Arragon was to restore. This treaty was ratified and sworn to on the 28th of May, to the great satisfaction of both nations. In the course of the same year, the king being informed that the French had obliged the duke of Lancaster to abandon his design of invading Castile, by harassing his troops in such a manner, that they were unable to prosecute their march, he thought himself obliged to return this favour, by making an expedition, in person, into Guienne, and sending also a strong fleet to their assistance.

A D 1374.

In the spring Don Carlos, prince of Navarre, came to Soria, and there espoused, on the 27th of May, the infanta, Donna Leonora of Castile, and on the 17th of June following the infanta Leonora of Arragon was married at the same place, to Don Juan, infant of Castile. But Don Alonso, count of Gijon, the king's natural son, taking some distaste to the princess of Portugal, whom his father had chosen for his wife, fled out of his dominions; but after having visited the court of France, and that of the pope at Avignon, he at length thought proper to return, and comply with his father's inclinations. The engagements he had entered into with the duke of Anjou, brother to the French king, who claimed the kingdom of Majorca by donation, gave some umbrage to the king of Arragon, but not sufficient to create any rupture between the two crowns, because the monarch of Arragon saw clearly, that if the king of Castile had meant any thing more than was pretended by those treaties, he

Enters into fresh engagements, and a treaty of marriage with the king of Portugal.

A.D. 1375.

q Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Marian. Ferreras. * Chronica del Rey Don Henr que Segundo. P. Daniel Histoire de France.

would have stipulated greater succours; and therefore he thought it best to pass by an offence that might be augmented by taking notice of it. This moderation had a good effect. The king of Castile gave him to understand, that though he could not refuse his assistance to the brother of the French monarch, yet he meant not to infringe the treaty that subsisted between them^a. The infanta, Donna Beatrix of Portugal, being the apparent heiress of that kingdom, the king of Castile proposed a match between her and his son Don Frederick, which proposal the king of Portugal readily accepted, though Don Frederick was a bastard: the children were accordingly married with great solemnity by proxy, but, as we shall see hereafter, this marriage never took effect. In the course of this year died Edward, prince of Wales, which was considered as a favourable event in the councils of Castile^t.

A.D. 1376.

The king of Navarre attempts to surprise Logrono, and is surprised in his turn.

The king of Navarre having formed a project for exchanging the territories he possessed in Normandy, with the crown of England, for lands of an equal value in Gascony, it was resolved to send the prince Don Carlos to conclude and execute this bargain. As Don Carlos had married the daughter of the king of Castile, it was natural for him to consult him upon his journey, from which the king dissuaded him, as he was to take the court of his uncle, the king of France, in his way; where he must either deal perfidiously with that monarch, or avow to him his father's designs. The prince, notwithstanding, went with some counsellors of his father's, but they were arrested at Paris, and his companions proceeded against and condemned as traitors. In the mean time, king Edward III. of England, died; notwithstanding which event, the king of Navarre continued his intrigues with his grandson Richard IIⁿ. He projected the acquisition of Logrono, a place of great beauty and importance, standing in the midst of a fair plain on the bank of the river Ebro. The method he took was to corrupt Don Pedro Manrique, a nobleman of the nicest honour in Castile, and the sum he offered him was twenty thousand pieces of gold. Don Pedro having first acquainted the king his master, closed with the proposals, received all the money at several payments, and at the time appointed, admitted six hundred of the king of Na-

A.D. 1377.

^a Mariana, Ferreras ^t Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo Brandaon. Barnes's History of Edward III. Ferreras.
^e P. Daniel, Histoire de France. Hist. de Royaume de Navarre.
 Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

varre's troops ; but immediately after disarmed and made them prisoners of war, and was very near taking the king himself. Soon after this attempt the infant Don Juan of Castile made an irruption into Navarre, and advanced within sight of Pampeluna. At this time there was a schism in the church of Rome, occasioned by the election of Urban VI. and Clement VII. to the papal dignity; the French adhering to the former, and the English to the latter ; but the kings of Castile and Arragon very wisely declined owning either ^w.

A.D. 1378.

The king thought fit to hold an assembly of all the prelates in his dominions, in the town of Illescas, where a resolution was taken to sequester the papal revenues, till it could be known to whom they belonged ; for the discussion of which matter another assembly was held at Burgos ^x. There the king of Navarre applied himself to Don Henry, to obtain a peace, of which his affairs stood in great need. The king of Castile prescribed to him such terms as he thought fit, and amongst the rest, insisted upon his discharging the English and the Gascon troops that were in his pay ; to which article the king of Navarre objected that he had no money to give them, and they would not depart without their arrears ; upon which Don Henry lent him a considerable sum, and having taken the necessary securities for his observing the peace, restored all that he had taken during the war ^y. In a very short time after the conclusion of this treaty, the king fell ill of a slow consuming disease, which having gradually wasted his strength, brought him at last to the grave, on the 29th of May, according to Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala, though many other historians report, that Mohammed Yago, king of Granada, perceiving that he had at length accomplished his plan of settling a firm peace with all his neighbours, suspected that it must be with a view of attacking his dominions with his whole force, and therefore prevailed upon an old servant of his to seek shelter at the court of Castile, as if he had been ill treated by him, and to watch an opportunity of poisoning the king, a design which he is said to have effected by a present of a pair of beautiful buskins, which were scented with a venomous perfume. Ferreras considers this as a vulgar report, which

The death of Henry II. of Castile, with strong suspicion of poison.

^w Rain. Fer. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. ^x Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^y Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Marian. Fer.

might take rise from the king's falling ill not long after he received this present.

*Don Juan
succeeds
the deceas-
ed king,
and renews
the truce
with the
king of
Granada.*

The infant Don Juan succeeded his father, and was crowned on the 25th of July, with his queen Leonora, at Burgos; and, on the 4th of October following, the queen was delivered, in the same city, of the infant Don Henry^z. About the same time arrived ambassadors from France, to thank the king for the succours sent by his father and himself, which had done remarkable service. Mohammed Yago, king of Granada, dying, was succeeded by his son Mohammed Guadix Abulhagen, a prince of many virtues, and of a most pacific disposition, who immediately sent ambassadors to felicitate the king Don Juan on his accession to the throne of Castile, and to renew the truce between the two crowns, during their reigns; which proposition was well received, and the ambassadors returned highly satisfied with the civilities that were paid them^a; and this, which seemed but a temporary expedient by the correspondence between their tempers, lasted all their reigns.

A.D. 1379.

*Makes a
treaty, and
consents to
another
marriage
with the
crown of
Portugal.*

The young king of Castile resembled his father extremely in his temper, and laboured nothing so much as to preserve peace, and to protect his subjects in the full enjoyment of it: with this view he sent ambassadors into Portugal, where they were extremely well received by the king Don Ferdinand, who, with some great and many amiable qualities, was one of the most fickle and mutable princes of that age^b. He desired, therefore, that the marriage formerly contracted between Don Frederick, the king's natural brother, and his daughter, the infanta Donna Beatrix, should be cancelled, that she might be at liberty to marry the infant Don Henry, who was not quite a year old. To this request the king readily consented; and though there was something very whimsical, not to say ridiculous, in this affair, yet the treaty was managed with a great deal of ceremony: a very singular clause was inserted, that if either of the parties should die without issue, the other should inherit the dominions of both, and was with great ceremony ratified by the states of both kingdoms^c. The monarch of Castile having adjusted these points, and dispatched a squadron of twenty men of war to the assistance of the French, went to Toledo, in order to assist at his father's funeral; and afterwards held an as-

^z Chron. del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

de France. Chron. de los Moros de Hisp. an.

del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

Fer.

^a P. Daniel Hist.

^b Brand. Chron.

^c Faria y Soufa. Brand. Marian.

sembly of the states at Medino del Campo, where, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to acknowledge pope Clement VII^d. Before this assembly was dissolved, the king had intelligence, that in the midst of all that appearance of cordiality shewn by the king of Portugal, he was actually negotiating an alliance with Richard II. of England, and with John, duke of Lancaster, who still continued to use the title of Castile, and whom Don Ferdinand had invited to come with a fleet and army to Lisbon. Don Juan, instead of expostulating upon this subject, ordered his forces to assemble, and the principal places on his frontiers to be repaired; being thoroughly persuaded, that the best way to prevent a war is to prepare and provide for it in time^c.

A.D. 1380.

On the 25th of May, deceased Donna Joanna, queen dowager of Castile, a woman distinguished by virtues the most rare, as well as the most unaffected piety, whose firmness in adversity rendered her always respected, and whose humility in the time of her prosperity was universally admired^f. The king being informed that his brother Don Alonso held a private correspondence with the king of Portugal, endeavoured to surprise him, but he made his escape into Asturias, where he took shelter in his strong castle of Gijon; to which, when the king followed him, Don Alonso came out, and assured him, that he had been misrepresented, upon which they were presently reconciled. The king, Don Juan, then resolved to attack Portugal, both by land and sea, before the arrival of their auxiliaries from England; but Don Ferdinand spared him the labour, by sending him a fleet of four ships and twenty galleys to insult the harbour of Seville. In their passage they met the admiral of Castile, Don Ferdinand de Tobar, with twenty galleys, who at first declined fighting; but, perceiving that five of the Portuguese galleys were gone to take in water at a port upon the coast, he attacked the rest of the fleet with so much vigour, that he took sixteen galleys, and on board of one of them Don Juan Alonso, who was the queen's brother, and with these prizes returned in triumph to Seville^g.

That crown negotiates an alliance against him at the same time, and soon after commences war.

On the 18th of July, the English fleet arrived in the harbour of Lisbon, commanded by Edmund, earl of Cambridge, eldest son of the duke of York, having with him

^d Rainald. Chron. del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

^f Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

Mayerne, Turquet.

^e Brand.

^g Marian. Fer.

A.D. 1381.

a small army of between three and four thousand men, his countess, and his son Edward, afterwards duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Agincourt, then a child of six years old; nevertheless, the first step taken was to marry this child to the infanta Beatrix; and they were not only married, but bedded in public. The good correspondence, however, between the English and Portuguese, did not last long; there were great complaints, and very probably, not altogether without cause, on both sides, of which the king of Castile having notice, he resolved to shut up the port of Lisbon against fresh succours, and to deal with those who were already arrived as well as he could ^h.

The king, Don Juan, forces Portugal to conclude a secret and separate peace.

While the king meditated certain important operations, both by land and sea, his brother Don Alonso, count de Gijon, actually quitted his dominions, and retired to Braganza in Portugal, with several lords who were attached to him. The king dissembled his resentment, continued his preparations, and fitted out a fleet, with which he gave great disturbance to the inhabitants of Lisbon, and obliged the king of Portugal to remove his court from thence ⁱ. As soon as his army began to be in motion towards the enemies frontiers, he signified to his brother, who was still at Braganza, that he should return without delay, upon which he repeated the order; Don Alonso returned for answer, that if he would send him the infant Don Ferdinand, his second son, the sons of six of the principal nobility, and put a certain number of castles into his hands, for his security, he and his friends would return. Don Juan, without taking the least notice of this proposition, sent a third order for him and his adherents to return to their duty by a certain day, on pain of being declared traitors, and all their estates confiscated; upon which his friends retired without taking leave, and, after a few days, he was constrained to follow their example ^k. The king of Portugal having assembled all his forces, and seeming determined to give the Castilians battle, the king created Don Hernando Alvarez de Toledo, and Don Pedro Ruys Sarmiento, marshals of the field, which was the first time that title had been heard of in Castile. The king of Portugal, to shew he would not be vanquished by titles, gave that of constable to Don Al-

^h Brand. Chron. del Rey Don Juan el Primero.
Soufa. Chron. del Rey Don Juan el Primero. Fer.
Brand.

ⁱ Faria y
^k Marian.

varo Perez de Castro, and made Vasquez de Azevedo marshal. The two armies being in sight of each other, the new constable and marshal advised their master to make peace, to which he readily listened, and granted them full powers for that purpose, but desired they would treat it with great secrecy. Thus authorized, they went in the night to the camp of Castile; where, having acquainted the king with their commission, he likewise named plenipotentiaries, by whom the peace was presently settled on the following terms: the infanta Donna Beatrix was to be once more married to the infant Don Ferdinand, son to the king of Castile, who was in the second year of his age; the Portuguese admiral, with his gallies and men, were to be set at liberty; and the king of Castile was to furnish a fleet to carry the English home. Don Juan scrupled this article at first; but the Portuguese plenipotentiaries represented, that home they must be sent, and they had no fleet; and, if they had, they were afraid of its being seized in England; so that at length it was ratified¹. As soon as this circumstance came to be divulged, the earl of Cambridge and his troops were extremely irritated; but the Spanish fleet arriving before the bay of Lisbon, and there being no remedy, they embarked, and were very safely carried home. The joy which the king Don Juan conceived at the conclusion of this troublesome affair, was quickly turned into grief, by the death of his queen Donna Leonora, in childbed, exceedingly regretted, as she was universally beloved by his subjects^m. At the request of the king of Navarre, he interposed with the French monarch, for the liberty of the prince Don Carlos, and Charles VI. granted it, as a very particular mark of his esteem. Upon his return home, the king, his father, sent him to return thanks to the king of Castile, in person, who received him very kindly, and dismissed him with rich presents, by which he attached him most cordially to his interestsⁿ.

A.D. 1382.

As soon as it was decent the king of Portugal sent one of his ministers to insinuate to Don Juan of Castile, that his daughter, the infanta Donna Beatrix, being of a fit age to be married, he would be much better pleased to have him for his son-in-law, than that the infanta should wait for the infant Don Ferdinand. There was some op-

By his marriage with the infanta Donna Beatrix, he acquires a title to Portugal.

¹ Chron. del Rey Don Juan el Primero. Brand. ^m Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. ⁿ Hist. du Royaume de Navarre. P. Daniel Hist. de France.

position to this match in the councils of Castile; but as the king himself was inclined to the marriage, it was quickly concluded, upon condition that the children of the king and the infanta should succeed to the kingdom of Portugal; and that, in case the throne became vacant before such children were born, the queen-dowager should govern with the title of regent. Donna Leonora accompanied her daughter to the frontiers; the king, Don Juan, arrived at Badajoz on the first of May, from whence he proceeded to Yelves, where he espoused the infanta Donna Beatrix, brought her the same afternoon to Badajoz, and the next day received the nuptial benediction in the cathedral church^o. Soon after this event his brother Don Alonso revolted the second time, and retired to Gijon, whither the king followed and reduced him; and though he did not deprive him of his liberty, yet he reprimanded him severely^p. In the assembly of the states, held soon after at Segovia, the old method of reckoning by the æra of Cæsar was laid aside for that of our Lord, according to Ferreras, in the year of that æra 1421. While the king was employed in regulating the domestic concerns of his government, he had intelligence that his father-in-law, Don Ferdinand, lay at the point of death; upon which he sent some persons, in whom he could confide, to Lisbon, and in his own person drew near to the frontiers. On the 22d of October that monarch departed this life, and left his dominions in great confusion. Donna Beatrix his only daughter, had been acknowledged by the states as the legal heiress of the throne. The people in general, however, inclined to Don Juan the king's brother, who was son to Don Pedro by his second wife, the famous Agnes de Castro. This Don Juan, a few years before, falling in love with Donna Maria Tellez, sister to Leonora queen of Portugal, married her; which alliance raised such a spirit of envy in the queen, that she caused it to be insinuated to Don Juan, that her sister was false to his bed, and that, if he was once free from so bad a wife, she was inclined to give him the infanta Donna Beatrix; upon which, transported with jealousy and ambition, he barbarously murdered the innocent lady. But discovering, when it was too late, the falshood of the queen's information, and of her promise, he retired into Castile; where,

^o Roderic. Santii Hist. Hispana, par. iv. Marian. Ferreras.

^p Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

upon the death of his father-in-law, the king caused him to be arrested, together with his brother the count Don Alonso, whom their father had married against his will to a bastard daughter of the late king of Portugal, in whose right, or rather in whose name, he attempted to form some pretensions. The queen-dowager had the title of regent; and her daughter, the reigning queen of Castile, was proclaimed queen of Portugal; but another brother of the late king, whose name was likewise Don Juan, but a bastard, being grand-master of the military order of Avis, seized upon the government, partly by force, partly with the consent of the people, and assumed the title of protector.

The more the king of Castile considered the affairs of Portugal, the more he found himself at a loss how to regulate his own conduct. He was very desirous of complying with the engagements to which he had sworn at his marriage, and signified that desire to the states of Portugal, assuring them that he was willing the queen-dowager should govern with the title of regent, during her life, and that he did not seek the crown for himself but for his posterity^q. The queen Leonora, being constrained to quit Lisbon, retired to Santaren, and from thence intreated the king to come to her relief, as she had no other resource. Upon this Don Juan of Castile put himself at the head of his forces, and marched with them into Portugal. The grand-master of Avis declared this step a breach of the marriage treaty, and that he had forfeited all his rights thereby. At the same time he sent ambassadors into England, to make an alliance with king Richard the Second, or rather with his uncles who governed him. The king of Castile, perceiving plainly that there was no hope of acquiring Portugal but by conquest, ordered his fleet from Seville to block up the port of Lisbon, and invited his brother-in-law Don Carlos prince of Navarre, to come to his assistance^r. War was now carried on with great fury on both sides; several great towns, and many of the nobility acknowledged Don Juan of Castile for their king; but the Portuguese nation in general adhered firmly to the protector. Several actions happened with variety of success; sometimes the troops of Castile had the better, sometimes they were beaten by the Portuguese. This

A D. 1383.

He takes upon him the regal title, and labours to acquire that country by force.

^q Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.
Souza. Ferreras.

^r Faria y

great confusion was increased by the king's discovering that the queen dowager had entered into a new intrigue with Don Pedro count of Trastamara, whom she proposed to marry, and to murder the king. Upon this discovery he caused her to be arrested, and sent prisoner into Castile. He then besieged Lisbon, took the fort of Almeyda, and, upon the arrival of Don Carlos, with a noble body of troops, his affairs began to wear a better appearance; but the scene was soon changed; the plague broke out in his army, and, though he persisted some time in carrying on the siege, yet at length, chiefly by the persuasion of the prince of Navarre, he decamped; and, having put strong garrisons into the places that had declared for him, retired with the rest of his army, into his own dominions.

*Invades it
with a
very po-
tent army,
and is
beaten by
Don Juan,
whom the
Portuguese
elected for
their king.*

The king of Castile, being informed that Don Pedro de Castro, count of Trastamara, was in the camp of the protector of Portugal, sent to let him know, that if he would remove this dangerous enemy, he would reward the action as a most acceptable service. The count embraced this infamous proposition, and took his measures with two other noblemen for the execution of it; but the protector arresting two of their friends upon certain suspicions, the conspirators imagined, though without any grounds, they were discovered, and immediately consulted their safety by flight*. This miscarriage mortified the king Don Juan extremely; nor was it long before he received another piece of news, which gave him still greater uneasiness, which was, that the states of Portugal had taken upon them to elect and proclaim the protector king†. After mature deliberation, however, and a thorough persuasion of his own title, and that the force of his dominions was infinitely superior to that of Portugal, he determined to invade that kingdom by land and sea. With this view he ordered a great fleet to be fitted out at Seville, as well as a strong squadron from Biscay, with a vast quantity of provisions on board, for the support of his army, at the head of which he marched to the frontiers. There he held several councils of war, in order to settle the operations of the campaign; and some of the ablest persons about him dissuaded him from proceeding farther, at least in person, as he was very ill of an ague; as the new king of Portugal had obtained a considerable victory at Truncofo; as the

*Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. Bras. l. † Marian. Trepas, Mayerne, Turquet.

king had lost most of his father's old officers by the plague the preceding year; and as the whole nation seemed determined to succeed or perish in support of their new king: but the young lords, who were about him, had their heads so full of the glory of Castile, and relied so much on the superiority of their forces, that at length the king was persuaded to prosecute his design; and, after having in vain attempted to enter into a treaty, he resolved to stake all upon a decisive action^u. It is said that the army of Castile exceeded thirty thousand men; whereas those who carry things highest acknowledge, that the king of Portugal had not above twelve thousand, and the historians of that country say not above half that number. He did not however, decline fighting, but chose an advantageous post, and declared his resolution to wait for the army of Castile. When the king, Don Juan, was in sight of the enemy, he halted, in order to advise once more with his principal officers; amongst whom there some who suggested that, as the enemy were posted between two morasses, it would be very imprudent to attack them, more especially that day, the army being fatigued, and having had scarce any refreshment; but the young officers insisted that it would be infamous, after looking the Portuguese in the face, not to attack them without delay. The king, being himself under great doubts, had recourse to M. de Rie, the French ambassador, a man of sixty years of age, who had spent his whole life in arms. He modestly told the king, that, a battle being resolved upon, the point was to gain a victory, and not to pique himself upon being hasty in attacking. In spite of this hint the young people prevailed; the Portuguese was immediately attacked in their advantageous post, and, in half an hour, the Castilians were routed. There fell upon the spot Don Pedro de Arragon, son to the marquis of Villena, the king's two nephews, Don Juan, son to count Tello, and Don Ferdinand, son to the count Don Sancho, with many other persons of great distinction, and a multitude of private men^w. This action, which is generally styled the battle of Aljubarrota, was fought upon the 14th of August, about three in the afternoon; the king fled that night to Santaren, upon his mule, which is above thirty miles. There he embarked on board a tartane, which carried him

^u Rod. Santii, Hist. Hispan. par. iv.
Rodriguez Faria y Sousa, Ferreras.

^w Brand. Emanuel

to his fleet, and soon after he returned to Seville *. The just sorrow arising from so heavy a loss was not a little increased by seeing Castile invaded by the Portuguese, who defeated the grand-masters of St. James, Alcantara, and Calatrava, with a superior army, the first of these great men being killed on the spot. To repair these disasters; and to provide against the consequences of the duke of Lancaster's arriving in Portugal, with a numerous fleet and army from England, Don Juan dispatched ambassadors to pope Clement the Seventh, at Avignon, and to king Charles the Sixth of France, to desire their advice and assistance †.

John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, lands in Galicia, and takes Compostella.

His ministers were received at Paris with all imaginable marks of kindness and respect, and were sent back with the strongest assurances, that the king would second his professions of friendship, by marching two thousand lances to his assistance ‡. Don Pedro, the son of Don Frederick the grand-master, who was the king's uncle, returned with those ambassadors to Castile, and was, in consideration of the French king's letters, very kindly received by the king his cousin. As for the pope, he had nothing to give but a little good advice, which he sent him very freely. At the opening of the spring, the king of Portugal sent a fleet of twelve ships and six galleys to bring over the duke of Lancaster and his forces; then he took the field, and besieged Chaves, which, after a gallant defence, he reduced. In the month of July, the duke of Lancaster landed at Padron, in Galicia, with fifteen hundred lances, and the like number of cross-bows. He marched directly to the city of St. James, at Compostella, which opened her gates as to her sovereign, and there he was proclaimed king of Castile, in right of his wife Donna Constantia, who accompanied him, with their daughter Donna Catalina, and two daughters that the duke had by his former wife, Blanch, heiress of the house of Lancaster §. The king of Portugal sent him a present of twelve white mules; the duke, in return, gave him as many greyhounds and falcons: a treaty was, not long after, concluded between them; in consequence of which, that monarch espoused Donna Philippa, one of the duke's daughters; the other, Isabella, being already married to the earl of

* Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

Daniel Histoire de France. Mariana.

† Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. P. Daniel. Histoire de France.

‡ Rod. Santii Hist. Hispana, par. iv. Tho. Walsingham, in Rich. II.

§ Rainald. P.

* Rod.

Pembroke^a. Within a short space after the conclusion of this treaty, the duke of Lancaster sent a herald at arms to Don Juan, requiring him to surrender the kingdom of Castile; who thereupon sent Juan Serrano, a clergyman, and two doctors of the civil law, to Orenza, where the duke then was, to acquaint him with the grounds of his title, and they were both patiently and publicly heard: but Juan Serrano, having sought a private audience of the duke, told him, that his master was willing to put an end to the difference, by marrying his son and heir, the infant Don Henry, to Donna Catalina, his daughter. The duke did not at all dislike the proposal, which his wife, Donna Constantia, highly and heartily approved; but, for the present, the treaty with Portugal stood in the way, and the duke contented himself with giving them a civil answer.

The king, Don Carlos of Navarre, dying on the first day of the succeeding year, and his son, the prince Don Carlos, being raised to the throne, his brother-in-law, the king of Castile, as a mark of his affection, remitted the twenty thousand pistoles that were due to him from that crown, and restored the castles that had been put into his hands to secure the payment of that sum^b. In the summer, the Portuguese and the English made an irruption into the territories of the king of Castile, who, at that time, either had not an army sufficient to give them battle, or, from motives of policy, sought to decline it. He, therefore, caused the country before them to be laid waste, harassed their troops upon every march, and gave them so much disturbance in one or two sieges, that they found it very expedient to retire into Portugal. Thither the king of Castile sent some of his ministers again to the duke of Lancaster, who, finding that the climate did not by any means agree with his troops, resolved to return into Gascony, and sent the king of Castile word he should be glad to receive his ministers at Bayonne. Thither, accordingly, repaired the king's confessor and two doctors, who were of his privy council, met with a very gracious reception, and, in a very short time, concluded a decisive treaty; by which it was settled, that the duke's only daughter by Donna Constantia should espouse, as soon as he was of an

A.D 1386.

His claims to the crown of Castile relinquished upon a marriage.

A.D. 1387.

^a Brand. Emanuel de Far y Sousa. ^b Hist. Vitæ & Regni Ricardi II. Angliæ Regis, a Monacho quodam de Evesham consignata. Emanuel de Far y Sousa. Marian.

age to marry, the infant Don Henry ; and, in case he died before the consummation of the marriage, she should become the wife of his younger brother Don Ferdinand ; that five good towns, with their territories, which were named, should be given as a dowry to Donna Constantia ; that the duke should receive six hundred thousand pieces of gold, for the expences of the war ; that his duchess should receive forty thousand franks a year ; and that, in consideration of the due performance of these articles, the duke and duchess should renounce for ever their rights to the crown of Castile. All these articles were approved in an assembly of the states of the kingdom, as well as by the king Don Juan ; but when they came to be ratified by the duke and duchess, they subscribed with this proviso, that the heir apparent to the crown of Castile should thenceforward bear the title of prince of Asturias^c. The princess, Donna Catalina, was conducted from Fontarabia to Palencia, and there, in the presence of the king, espoused to the infant Don Henry ; that prince being about nine years old, and herself about fourteen^d. Some short time after, the duchess of Lancaster sent to let the king know, that she was extremely desirous of seeing him and her children the prince and princess of Asturias ; upon which he sent several persons of the first distinction to conduct her to Medina del Campo, where he was : during her stay there, she was treated with such respect and cordiality, that she presented the king with a crown of gold, that had been made for her husband, and a vessel of the same precious metal, exquisitely wrought^e. After a considerable stay at Medina, she complied with the king's request of going to pass the winter at Toledo, where she received the compliments of almost all the nobility of the first rank in Spain^f.

A D. 1383.

*The king of
Castile's
tender and
laudable
affection
for his sub-
jects.*

In the spring the king accompanied the duchess of Lancaster to Burgos, with an intent to have proceeded to Fontarabia, that he might also confer with the duke her husband : but, within a short time after his arrival, he fell extremely ill. Growing better, he set out with her again for Victoria, where he was attacked with the same disease in such a manner, that he was obliged to excuse himself from proceeding farther northwards ; and sent his com-

^c Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Hist. Vitæ & Regni Ric. II. Walsing. in Ric. II.

^d Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

^e Hist. Gen. de

Hispan. lib. xx.

^f Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

pliments by his ambassadors to the duke of Lancaster, with whom all things were amicably adjusted: the large sum that had been stipulated was paid, and hostages were given for the duchess's annuity. The king of Portugal having, this year, gained some advantages, the king of Castile took much pains, and sacrificed some places that were still in his hands, to get the truce renewed. He appears to have been a most conscientious prince; for he grudged every thing that came out of his subjects pockets, and chose rather to suffer any disgrace, than to exhaust them, in order to aggrandize his own family. When the states had imposed an extraordinary tribute, to raise the money for the duke of Lancaster, understanding that in some places the people murmured at it, he sent them word, that it was true he could not exempt them from paying, because he was to pay it himself, but that he would allow it in the ordinary revenues of the next year^s. This moderation had two good effects; it produced the money, and it put an end to all murmurs. Whether the expences of the war with Portugal, and the misfortunes attending it, had unavoidably exhausted his treasury; or whether there was really any fault in those who managed his affairs; so it was, that the king grew extremely melancholy at the remembrance of the flourishing state of things in the last years of his father's reign in comparison of his own; which reflection, at length, affected him so heavily, that he called an assembly of the states, to propose resigning the crown to his son, though a minor, and putting the government into the hands of a council, who, by their wisdom and application, might bring things into a better state: but this assembly very wisely remonstrated to the king, that such a resolution might augment, but never could diminish, the mischiefs to which his subjects were exposed; that as to the regulation of his revenue, they would take that upon themselves; and that, in a little time, under the auspices of so good a prince, they did not in the least doubt, that all things might be brought into order^h.

The king's spirits were in some measure raised, by the application of the king of Granada to renew the truce; who, upon that occasion, sent a magnificent embassy, and very costly presents: but what pleased him still more was, that the king of Portugal sent likewise to prolong the truce, which was a thing that the king of Castile

A D. 1389.

Sudden and unhappy death of that great and good prince by a fall from his horse.

^s Hist. Vitæ & Regni Ricardi II. ^h Chron. del Rey Don Juan el Primero. Rod. Santii. Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

A D. 1390.

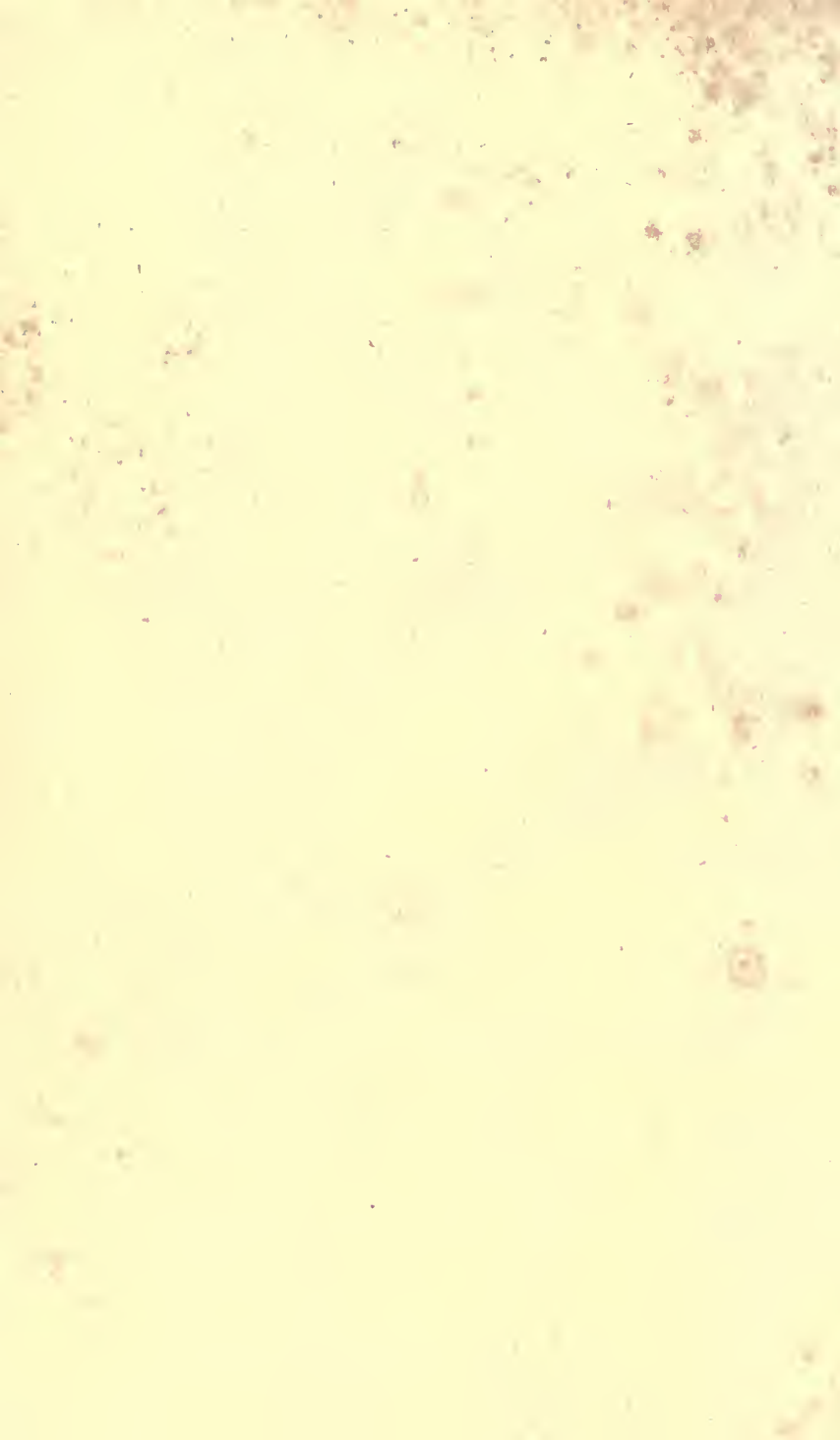
heartily desired, but was unwilling to ask ⁱ. In this flow of good fortune, he erected a new order of knighthood, which he styled of the Holy Ghost: the badge was a collar of gold, to which was appendant the figure of a dove, surrounded with a glory ^k. While the Moorish ambassadors were at his court, he understood that many Christians of distinction, who had retired out of Spain, either through discontent or fear, and settled in the city of Morocco, were now exceedingly desirous of turning home; but apprehended the double difficulty of procuring pardon on one side, and permission on the other. The king of Castile, sincerely touched with the misfortunes of these people, whom the Spanish writers style (B) Farfanese, applied himself with such earnestness to the king of Morocco, that he gave them leave to depart. Some of the first of them arrived a little before winter, and desired to have the honour of being admitted to the king's presence, that they might return him their thanks. Don Juan, who had heard that they were wonderfully expert in horsemanship, desired they would meet him at Alcala, on his road to Andalusia. Arriving in this city, and understanding that they were at hand, he mounted on horseback, on Sunday, October the 9th, attended by the archbishop of Toledo, and some other persons of the first distinction, with whom he proceeded through the gate leading to Burgos; met these new comers, and was infinitely delighted with their exercise: but spurring an high-mettled Barbary horse he rode, the beast suddenly plunged, threw him over his head, and, falling upon him, crushed him to death upon the spot. The archbishop of Toledo caused a tent to be pitched near the place, carried the king thither, and gave out that he was not dead, in order to gain the more time for the peaceable accession of his son; which being accomplished, his body was transported to Toledo, where he was interred ^l.

(B) The word Farfan signifies a Christian cavalier, in the pay of the Moors.

ⁱ Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. Brand.
ana, Ferreras.

^k Mariana, Ferreras.
^l Chron. del Rey Don Juan el Primero. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chron. de los Moros de Hispana. Ferreras.









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